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Iyeyasu.

From a *kakemono* of the Tamato-Tosa School in the Anderson Collection, British Museum.

THE NATIONS' HISTORIES

JAPAN

FROM THE AGE OF THE GODS TO THE FALL OF TSINGTAU

BY

F. HADLAND DAVIS

AUTHOR OF
"MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF JAPAN,"
"THE LAND OF THE YELLOW SPRING, AND OTHER JAPANESE STORIES"
ETC.

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TO MY WIFE

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JAPAN

CHAPTER I

THE AINU, AND THE COMING OF THE JAPANESE

THE Ainu, who completely drove out the *Koro-pok-guru*, or "cave men," were among the first inhabitants of Japan. They were originally a fierce and vigorous people, and many were their victories over the Japanese when these hairy aborigines were led to battle by Pontiac and Tecumseh. It is written: "When our august ancestors [the Japanese] descended from Heaven in a boat, they found upon the island several barbarous races, the most fierce of whom were the Ainu." So true was this reference to fierceness that the Ainu were not completely subjugated until the eighteenth century.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that these aborigines of Japan, now dwelling for the most part in the Island of Yezo, are not very promising-looking specimens of humanity. Their fierceness has changed to something that is almost servile. Now that they are no longer engaged in war they are forced to be content with various sedentary occupations, relieved by an occasional bear hunt, which for the time being seems to revive something of the old fire that glowed so fiercely in the days of rebellion against the invader. They deserve to awaken pity rather than scorn, for they have not only

endured defeat after offering a long and stout resistance, but they have also suffered a brutalising persecution from Japanese officials, who at one time regarded them as dirt. They were too often at the mercy of swashbuckling bullies who sadly abused their power. At the approach of a Japanese official the Ainu was expected to rub his forehead in the dust of the road. If he refused to do so, and refusals were by no means rare, he was promptly decapitated.

The Ainu no longer has the burrowing instincts of an animal, neither does he drink blood or practise cannibalism. Fortunately he has lost the savage cruelty of the jungle, and no longer indulges in horrible forms of punishment, such as cutting off the nose, severing tendons, and boiling amputated limbs. When he was driven northward, and after a protracted struggle at last forced to cross the Tsugaru Strait and dwell in the Island of Yezo, he lost many of his savage qualities and with them departed his fine spirit of independence. To-day he is a pathetic figure with a warlike past tainted by many deeds of savagery. If a savage can be said to degenerate the Ainu has certainly degenerated, and partly because the spirit of independence has been crushed out of him. He is extremely filthy in his person and his skin is covered with layers of dirt, which have accumulated for a considerable time. Filth, as a protection against cold, has become a necessity, and the Ainu only consents to overcome his abhorrence of washing on the occasion of a funeral or a bear feast. Though the Ainu still has many good qualities, and is very far from being devoid of religious belief, he is nevertheless addicted to strong drink. He does not become a toper in the hope of drowning the tribulations of a conquered people. On the contrary, he drinks simply because he considers drunkenness a state of supreme bliss. He consumes *sake*, the Japanese rice-wine, in vast quantities, and has happily named the beverage *tonoto*, "official milk," a playful

allusion to the time when he received remuneration for his labour from the Japanese, not in money but in wine. He is as gross in his drinking as he is in his love of food, and this applies to the women as much as to the men. Both would have rejoiced in the overfeeding that goes on in the Fatting House of the Ibibios of southern Nigeria. When the Ainu partake of a heavy meal, they allow their digestive organs half an hour's rest, after which respite they again do justice to another substantial repast. At such times the Ainu expression, *Ibe aeramushinne*, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten," is extremely apposite! The Ainu, sent as curiosities to the Chinese Emperor's Court in A.D. 659, and as quaint specimens of hirsute humanity to an English exhibition a few years ago, have now, thanks to the sympathetic study of their manners, customs, and religious beliefs by the Rev. J. Batchelor,[1] and the learned investigations of Professor B. H. Chamberlain [2] in regard to their language and mythology, been recognised as a most valuable link with the early traditions of Japan.

The Ainu are connected with Japanese history, but they are even more memorable as the first geographers of Japan, for to this savage race the Japanese owe a great many place-names scattered up and down the Mikado's Empire, a proof that these aborigines were not originally confined to any particular island. Their method of naming villages, rivers, capes, mountains, and so forth, was both simple and apt. Some peculiar physical feature frequently suggested a name, such as "The Mountain having a Depression," "Red River," and "The Stream Issuing from the Bank of the Hake." When there was no marked characteristic of this kind, which a child-like mind would be quick to observe, some local event

[1] *The Ainu of Japan.*

[2] *The Language, Mythology, and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan, Viewed in the Light of Aino Studies.*

supplied the often poetical beginning of topographical nomenclature, such as Tushpet, "Rope River," so called because the inhabitants of Futoro stretched a rope across the river in order to prevent people from the opposite village stealing their salmon. The word *Yamato*, the ancient name for Japan,[1] which many of us associate with *Yamato Damashii* ("The Spirit of Unconquered Japan"), is of Ainu origin and originally meant "a pond among chestnut trees." Yamato, properly one of the central provinces, has furnished many a name for a Japanese battleship, names borrowed from the rivers and mountains in this ancestral region. Fuji, the peerless mountain of Japan, is a corruption from the Ainu Huchi, or Fuchi, the Goddess of Fire. Not infrequently old names underwent a change when they happened to be of Ainu origin, but though lengthened and altered in many ways, the change is not so complete as to baffle the investigation of scholars. The Ainu have been conquered, and it is possible that in time this degenerating race will die out, but it has nevertheless left an abiding mark upon Japan, the mark of many hundreds of geographical names.

Having referred to the part these aborigines have played in regard to Japanese geography as we know it to-day, it is worth while relating the Ainu legend concerning the Island of Yezo. It is said to have been created by a god and goddess. The god was concerned with the eastern coast and the goddess with the western. The god worked steadily at his portion of the task, but the goddess, growing weary of her labour, began to talk to the sister of Aioina Kumui. Presently the goddess discovered that gossip and island-making do not go very well together. Seeing what the god had already accomplished with resolute will and silent tongue, she tried to make up for lost time by finishing her work in a great hurry, with

[1] Japan and *Nippon* are corruptions of the Chinese *Jih-pen*, literally "the place where the sun comes from."

the result that the west coast of Yezo is rugged and dangerous to this day.

The Ainu, as we have already stated, are a hairy people, and although their hairiness has been greatly exaggerated by certain writers, it is nevertheless a marked characteristic, and has been accounted for by a curious legend. In ancient days a box floated from Yedo[1] to Saru in the Island of Yezo. When it reached the shore, it immediately opened, and a beautiful Japanese girl stepped out. A large dog (or wolf) happened to see her, and, impressed by her loveliness, came to meet her. According to one account he temporarily assumed human shape. Whether he did so or not, he is said to have led the maid to a cavern. In due time a child was born—with a tail, and, after the parents had discussed the matter the appendix was painlessly cut off. It is claimed that the Ainu were descended from this child. The story is probably of Japanese origin, and made to accord with the fact that these aborigines are hairy like dogs. Professor Chamberlain writes: "The story of the descent of the Ainu race from a dog has clearly sprung from the similarity of the word Ainu to *inu*, the Japanese for 'dog,' and *ainoko*, the Japanese for 'half-caste.'"

The Ainu name for world is *Uaremoshiri*, "the multiplying world," and with such a conception it is not surprising to find that they considered it a disgrace for married people to be childless. Barrenness was thought to be a punishment for some kind of sin. Mr Batchelor writes: "A curious custom used to exist amongst this people. As soon as a child was born, the father had to consider himself very ill. But the wife, poor creature! had to stir about as much and as quickly as possible. The idea seems to have been that life was passing

[1] Yedo, the capital of the Togugawa Shoguns and renamed Tokyo with the restoration of the Emperor was not founded until the seventeenth century. Legend frequently ignores dates.

from the father into his child." A somewhat similar practice is still in vogue among Chinese coolies. In this case, however, no one has offered an ingenious explanation, for laziness is probably the only excuse for retirement at such a time.

Primitive wooden huts are the dwellings of the Ainu. House-building usually takes place in the spring and autumn, and women, as well as men, join in the labour. Every hut is provided with two windows, one in the east and the other in the south. The south window is devoid of any religious associations and often serves as an exit for all manner of rubbish. The hole in the east of the dwelling is sacred, and it is here that the Ainu worships his gods. Near this opening is a group of poles bearing the skulls of bears, foxes, and other animals slaughtered in the chase. These gruesome relics are not gods, but they are supposed to possess some religious significance. In addition to these skulls that nod in the wind there are *inao* and *nusa*, that is, clusters of shavings fixed to pieces of wood. *Nusa* strictly means a number of *inao*. The east window, with its anything but pleasing outlook, is the Ainu's shrine. It is here he comes before setting out on a journey, and it is at this window he stands to render thanks to his deities for a safe return. On the occasion of a birth or death in the family, the owner of the hut invites his relatives and friends to join him at this window, and there they offer worship to the gods.

At the completion of a new hut the owner gives a kind of house-warming party, possibly in recognition of the voluntary labour he has received, and relatives and friends are invited to the feast. Before the merry-making commences each male guest takes his moustache-lifter, dips it into his wine-cup, and offers three drops of *sake* to such important deities as the Goddess of Fire, the God of Sleeping Places, and the very domestic divinity associated with the utensils of the kitchen. Having, according to ancient custom, propitiated

the household gods, host and guests, excluding the women, who were regarded with suspicion and never permitted to tamper with religious rites, went outside the dwelling in order to make quite sure that the garden, spring of water, and so on had received an adequate blessing from those deities who were responsible for such things. The inspection over they re-enter the hut and give themselves up to the joys of the feast. Their allowance of wine differs from the meagre three drops they present to the gods. Too often an Ainu house-warming party, which commences as a plea for divine insurance against all kinds of accidents, ends in a drunken brawl. That there is not much refinement in the way an Ainu partakes of his food may be gathered from the fact that the name for the index finger is *Itangi kem ashikipet*, "The finger for licking the cup." "It is so called," writes Mr Batchelor, "because people generally cleanse their eating-cups by first wiping the inside of them with their index finger and then licking it!"

The more remote and the more mysterious a god is the greater he becomes from the Ainu's point of view, while the minor deities are those close at hand. The degree of divinity entirely depends on whether the god is far removed from things terrestrial or whether he touches the life of mortals in a more or less intimate way. It is almost as if this barbarian gave a religious meaning to our proverb, "Familiarity breeds contempt," for their household gods are not regarded with the same degree of deference as those brooding far behind the blaze of lightning and the muttering voice of thunder.

Certain moral precepts are taught by means of naïve little stories. The tale of Pan'ambe and Pen'ambe is told with a view to discouraging greediness. It is too well known to need repetition here, but the following story is worth repeating because it seems to have a historical basis. There was once a very hard pine tree, and its trunk was so tough that many

valiant men were powerless to cut it down. At last an old man and woman stood before the pine tree with a blunt axe and decrepit-looking reaping hook. When the Ainu saw the aged couple and learnt that it was their intention to cut down the tree they laughed heartily. Their laughter was silenced when the old man and woman brought down the great tree as if they had been cutting a bamboo shoot. No sooner had the tree fallen than " the old man and woman passed up upon the sound thereof, and a fire was seen upon their sword-scabbards." The tree is supposed to have been felled by Okikurumi (Yoshitsune) and his wife, and the incident gave rise to the Ainu saying: " Let not the younger laugh at the elder, for even very old people can teach their juniors a great deal, and even in so simple a matter as felling trees." It has been suggested that this legend is associated with an ancient battle with the Japanese, and that the hard or " metal pine tree " was a picturesque reference to the armour of Japanese warriors. There are other Ainu stories concerning this great Japanese hero, and conflicting theories as to whether or not he was worshipped by these aborigines.

We have already seen that the Ainu regarded their women with suspicion. Most of them were believed to be possessed with the evil eye, and though their services were gladly made use of during house-building operations, they were continually watched lest they should hide a husband's *inao* or be guilty of any other kind of sacrilege. They were immune from religious influence, but possessed great power for working evil, and this was particularly the case in regard to old women. They could bring misfortune to the house, and even disturb the peace of the departed. It is recorded of one Ainu woman that she dug up a corpse and placed a portion of it in a family stew-pot, so that her unfortunate husband unknowingly made a meal of his ancestor!

The death of an Ainu man is made an occasion for a feast

Exclusive News Agency.

Three Picturesque Ainu Fishermen.

Exclusive News Agency.

An Ainu Home.

to which relatives and friends are invited. Various ceremonies are performed in the house of mourning and the virtues of the deceased are loudly extolled in order that the Goddess of Fire may be pleased to lead the soul to heaven. The body of the deceased is finally carried out of the hut, followed by mourners carrying familiar objects to be buried with the earthly remains of the departed. A man's grave is marked by a wooden spear. A white pole bearing a head-dress stands above the last resting-place of an Ainu woman. There are no cemeteries, no inscriptions, and it is curious to note that while the Japanese treasure the memory of the dead, the Ainu, on the contrary, do all in their power to forget the departed. There seems to be no connection between the religious beliefs of the Ainu and Shintoism. The only analogy we can discover is a certain similarity between the *inao* and *gohei*, the paper strips of the Shinto cult, and it is probably only a superficial resemblance after all.

The Ainu believe in a future life, both for themselves as well as for their animals. Their conception of heaven is almost a replica of their earthly existence, with this important difference that in their heaven there is no pain, death, or re-birth. The Ainu believes in celestial marriages, and asserts that no matter how many times a man marries during his earthly sojourn, in the future life he will have "one wife, and she will be his first."

There is a difference of opinion as to whether the Ainu heaven is above or below the ground. It is called *Kamui kotan* ("the Place of God"). *Poknamoshiri* ("Underworld") is a realm where souls receive instructions before passing on to the Place of God or to a desolate region of punishment. There are three roads in the Underworld, one leads from earth to *Poknamoshiri*, a second enters heaven, and a third leads to hell, known as *Teinei-pokna-shiri* ("the wet underground world"), where there is eternal fire and ice. A

fresh arrival from earth is told by a watch god that he has received a message from the Goddess of Fire as to where the soul is to go. Occasionally Ainu spirits try to bluff their way into heaven by asserting that they have never committed any sin. Such impudent souls are dealt with by the Goddess of Fire herself. "She causes a great picture representing the whole life of the spirit to be placed before it. Thus the spirit stands self-condemned, and there is no escape, for the Fire Goddess has a perfect picture of every word and act the spirit ever said or did while in a body upon earth."

Having given a brief sketch of the Ainu, their life, manners, customs, religious beliefs and legends, we must now refer to the coming of the Japanese, and find out, if we can, who these conquerors were. The origin of the Japanese has puzzled many scholars, and no one can at present claim to have answered the question with any degree of certainty. Kaempfer (1651–1716) thought that the primæval Japanese belonged to the builders of the Tower of Babel, Hyde Clarke considered they were Turano-Africans, and Macleod was of the opinion they were probably one of the lost tribes of Israel. Recent scholars tell us that the Ainu were followed by two distinct Mongol invasions, the second flood of immigrants following the first at an interval of many years. Subsequently the Mongols were driven northward by Malays from the Philippines. "By the year A.D. 500," writes Mr Robert P. Porter in *The Full Recognition of Japan*, "the Ainu, the Mongol, and the Malay elements in the population had become one nation by much the same process as took place in England after the Norman Conquest. To the national characteristics it may be inferred that the Ainu contributed the power of resistance, the Mongol the intellectual qualities, and the Malay that hardiness and adaptability which are the heritage of sailor-men." The Japanese, whoever they are and wherever they come from, are not a pure race, and it is

this fusion of blood and confusion in regard to the tides of immigration that have led to so much diversity of opinion. The Japanese of to-day present several distinct types, and of these types we need only mention two, the patrician and the plebeian. The difference is not simply due to a luxurious environment on the one hand and rough surroundings on the other. The plebeian has a dark skin, prominent cheek-bones, receding forehead, large mouth, and flat nose. The aristocratic type is built on a more delicate scale, with oval face, either yellow or white, slightly aquiline nose, narrow eyes, and a small hand. These characteristics are more marked among well-born Japanese women, and those of Saga were referred to by Kaempfer as "handsomer than in any other Asiatic country." It is the patrician type that has been made so familiar to us in Japanese art, and if "art is the soul of Japan," this type reflects all those qualities which the Japanese are most proud to possess and most anxious to preserve.

The Japanese, at about the beginning of the eighth century, began to study Chinese history. Here they found references to certain islands in the eastern ocean peopled with genii and immortals who possessed the Elixir of Life, a drug which was also capable of reviving the dead. It was a land of great beauty where large golden peaches flourished and where timber was so buoyant than no weight could sink it. There were rare trees, a mountain plant useful for plaiting into mats, and large and luscious mulberries. These mysterious islands were surrounded by a black sea, whose waves, in spite of an absence of wind, towered to a height of a thousand feet. "At the risk of challenging a cherished faith," writes Captain Brinkley, "it is difficult to avoid the hypothesis that from these fables the compilers of Japan's first written history derived the idea of an 'age of the gods' and a divinely descended Emperor." When the *Kojiki* ("Records of Ancient Matters") and the *Nihongi* ("Chronicles of Japan") were

completed in the eighth century after Christ they contained many myths that were undoubtedly Chinese in origin. But if Japan has always been a master in the gentle art of borrowing ideas, whether it be for her myths or for her government to-day, she has been no less a master in making the best possible use of all borrowed material. To make her country the Land of the Gods and her Emperors the direct descendants of the Sun Goddess was a stroke of genius, for it so happens that that ancient belief, that borrowed "fable," has become the root of patriotism, the basis of the Japanese Empire to-day.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF THE GODS

It is necessary to deal with the myths[1] of Japan as we find them in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* because the mythology and early history are inseparable. Both are equally fabulous in the opinion of Professor B. H. Chamberlain, and we do not come in touch with historical facts, that is to say with any degree of certainty, until the end of the fifth century A.D. Even with the influence of Chinese culture, which reached Japan through Korea in the sixth century, the chroniclers of Japanese history clung to the miraculous, and continued to do so until a comparatively late date. But Japanese history may well be highly embellished with the supernatural seeing that it has sprung from a sun myth, that the very essence of her "history" is a firm belief in the divine descent of her Emperors from Ama-terasu, the Sun Goddess. The early myths brought divinity to kingship, formed the basis of the Shinto faith, and to-day they throw light upon the manners and customs, dress, ornaments, weapons, etc., of this heaven-born people. The Land of the Rising Sun and the Land of the Gods are not simply poetic references to Japan, for they really sum up the mythical origin of the Japanese race.

In the *Nihongi* we read: "Of old Heaven and Earth were

[1] I have fully described the myths, legends and folk-lore in *Myths and Legends of Japan*, published by Messrs Harrap in their "Myths" series.

not separated. They formed a chaotic mass, the purer and transparent part of which rose up and formed Heaven, while the heavier and opaque settled downwards and became the Earth. The finer element easily became united, but the consolidation of the heavier was slow and difficult. Heaven was therefore formed first and the Earth afterwards."

After the appearance of a reed shoot that stretched between Heaven and Earth, Izanagi ("Male-who-invites") and Izanami ("Female-who-invites") were created. These deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven, thrust a spear into the ocean beneath them. On withdrawing their weapon drops of water solidified and formed the Island of Onogoro or "Spontaneously-congeal-island." It is worth recording, especially to those who visit Japan to-day, that Onogoro is a name given to a hill in the Island of Awaji, and this island, or possibly one of the adjacent islets, is the Onogoro of the Period of the Gods. In ancient times water was brought from Awaji for use in the Imperial Household, and there are many references in Japanese literature to the beauties of the first created island of Nippon.

Izangi and Izanami dwelt upon this island. Here they chanced to see a pair of wagtails alighting on a stone, which is known to this day as "Wagtail Stone." The mating of these birds, the creation of which is entirely ignored, is said to have suggested marriage to these child-like beings, and a pair of wagtails is inseparable from the table decoration of a Japanese wedding to-day, in memory of the first love story in the Land of the Gods.

When Izanagi and Izanami became husband and wife they brought forth "the Great-Eight-Island Country," seas, mountains, rivers, herbs, and trees. They now desired to create some one to rule over the country, and accordingly gave birth to Ama-terasu, the Sun Goddess, the most important deity in the Japanese Pantheon. Her father gave her a

necklace and bade her " rule the Plain of High Heaven," sending as her consort Tsuki, the Moon God.

After the birth of the Moon God the Leech-child was born. Even when it was three years old it could not stand upright, and was therefore placed in " the rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven and abandoned to the winds." The next child of Izanagi and Izanami was Susa-no-o (" The Impetuous Male "), and to this God and his sister the Sun Goddess we shall return when we have completed the mythical story of their parents.

Izanami died in giving birth to the God of Fire, or as it is written in the *Nihongi*, " suffered a change and departed." While Izanagi gave vent to his grief, his tears changed into a deity appropriately called " Weep-abundant-female." There is something very human in this god's grief when he cries: " Oh, that I should have given my beloved younger sister in exchange for a single child ! " At length, rising from the ground, he took his ten-span sword and cut the Fire God into three pieces, each of which became a deity. The blood that dripped from the edge of the sword congealed into the rocks that lie in the Tranquil River of Heaven,[1] and blood-drops from the hilt-ring were converted into deities.

Izanagi set off for the Land of Yomi (Hades) where he had the misfortune to discover that his wife had become a festering creature. Sickened by such a scene he fled, pursued by the Eight Ugly Females of Hades. Their flight was checked by the miraculous appearance of grapes and bamboo shoots which they eagerly devoured, but having satisfied their hunger they again gave chase. It is only recorded in the *Kojiki* that when Izanagi reached the Even Pass of Hades he saw three peaches. He plucked the fruit and flung them at his pursuers so that they fled. He then said to the peaches : " Like

[1] The Milky Way is associated with more than one Japanese and Chinese legend. See Lafcadio Hearn's *The Romance of the Milky Way and other Studies and Stories.*

as ye have helped me, so must ye help all living people in the Central Land of Reed-Plains when they shall fall into troublous circumstances and be harassed!" Izanami, perhaps noting these hindrances, deemed it prudent to pursue her lord herself. We need not describe their painful meeting. Suffice it to say that Izanagi declared a divorce, left the Land of Yomi, underwent a deity-making kind of purification in a stream on the Island of Tsukushi, and finally ascended to Heaven.

Ama-terasu, the Sun Goddess, on one occasion sent her brother, the Moon God, to wait upon Uke-mochi, the Goddess of Food, who dwelt in the Central Land of Reed-Plains. When the Moon God saw the Goddess of Food, he noticed that when she turned towards the land boiled rice came out of her mouth. When she faced the sea all manner of fish, "broad of fin and things narrow of fin," gushed from her mouth, and when she looked at the mountains "there came from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair." Having brought forth these things the Goddess set the rice, fish, and other edibles upon a hundred tables and invited the Moon God to the feast. But the Moon God refused to eat, and exclaimed hotly: "Filthy! Nasty! That thou shouldst dare to feed me with things disgorged from thy mouth." He then drew his sword and killed her. When the Moon God returned to Heaven and gave the Sun Goddess an account of his doings, she became angry, and said: "Thou art a wicked deity. I must not see thee face to face." And so it came to pass that the Sun Goddess and the Moon God were separated by a day and a night. We hear no more of the Moon God, which is rather extraordinary considering that this luminary has been the favourite theme for poetic composition from time immemorial.

The Sun Goddess, distressed by the news brought her by the Moon God, sent another messenger, and this messenger

found that although the Food Goddess was dead, she bore upon her head an ox and a horse, millet on her forehead, silkworms over her eyebrows, panic in her eyes, rice in her stomach, and elsewhere wheat and two kinds of bean. These manifestations of the Goddess of Food were brought by the messenger to Ama-terasu, who said: "These are the things by which the race of visible men will eat and live." She planted the millet, wheat, and beans in dry fields and sowed the rice in fields covered with water. We are told in the *Nihongi:* "That autumn, drooping ears bent down, eight span long, and were exceedingly pleasant to look on."

Susa-no-o is the one deity in the Japanese Pantheon who may be said to have run amuck both in the Plain of High Heaven as well as during his wanderings on earth where he preferred to slay rather than rule the people according to the decree of his father. At length his misdeeds became so outrageous that Izanagi decided to banish his son to the Land of Yomi with "a divine expulsion."

Before repairing to Hades the Impetuous Male ascended to Heaven with a great commotion for the purpose of bidding farewell to his sister the Sun Goddess. That deity, however, doubting his good intentions, prepared to defend herself: "She bound up her hair into knots, and tied up her skirts into the form of trousers. Then she took an august string of five hundred Yasaka jewels, which she entwined round her hair and wrists. Moreover, on her back she slung a thousand-arrow quiver and a five-hundred-arrow quiver. On her lower arm she drew a dread loud-sounding elbow-pad. Brandishing her bow end upwards, she firmly grasped her sword-hilt, and stamping on the hard earth of the courtyard, sank her thighs into it as if it had been foam-snow, and kicked it in all directions. Having thus put forth her manly vigour, she uttered a mighty cry of defiance and questioned him in a straightforward manner."

Susa-no-o affected to be surprised and grieved when he saw the warlike preparations of his sister. He pointed out that his heart had not always been black and that nothing but brotherly kindness had prompted him to bid farewell to his sister. Ama-terasu, however, was by no means satisfied with the protestations and resolved to test the alleged purity of his heart. She accordingly took her brother's ten-span sword, broke it into three pieces and rinsed them in " the true-well of Heaven." She then crushed the fragments in her mouth, and in blowing them away they were converted into three female deities. Susa-no-o then took his sister's Yasaka jewels, and, having rinsed them, crushed them in his mouth and blew out the fragments, which were immediately changed into five male deities. Susa-no-o, angry with his sister for claiming the five male deities, which he coveted, caused a number of piebald colts to devastate her rice-fields, and in the Weaving Hall of the Palace he flung down a " heavenly piebald horse, which he had flayed with a backward flaying." The Sun Goddess, angered by the treachery of her brother, hid herself in the Rock Cave of Heaven.

The Eighty Myriads of Gods were sorely troubled, for the world was now plunged in darkness. They set to work to make tools, bellows, and forges, and, having made them, they fashioned a mirror[1] and constructed primitive musical instruments. Before the Rock Cavern they planted a True Sakaki Tree and hung upon it the mirror, a rosary of five hundred jewels and offerings of blue and white cloth. While the birds from the Eternal Land were singing loudly, the

[1] The Divine Mirror now reposes in Ise, the holy province of Japan. It is kept in a box of chamæcyparis in the *Naiku* (" Inner Temple "). The mirror is wrapped in brocade, and when it begins to fall to pieces it is not taken away but covered with a fresh wrapping, so that the precious relic is now protected with many layers of silk. The box and its coverings are placed in a cage elaborately ornamented in gold, and this again is covered with a silk cloth.

Ama-terasu, the Sun Goddess, emerging from the Cave.

From a *kakemono* in the Anderson Collection, British Museum.

Goddess Ame-no-uzume-no-Mikoto ("Heavenly-Ugly-Face-August-Thing") commenced to dance and another deity proceeded to recite a liturgy likely to please the Sun Goddess. In the *Kojiki* we read: "Thereupon Heavenly-Ugly-Face-August-Thing, using a heavenly vine from the Heavenly Incense Mountain as shoulder-cord to tuck up her sleeves, and making herself a wig . . . and tying up a bunch of bamboo-grass from the Heavenly Incense Mountain to hold in her hand, turned a cask bottom up before the door of the Heavenly Rock House, and treading and stamping upon it became possessed.[1] And catching the clothes from about her breast, and pushing down her girdle to her skirt, she let her dress fall down to her hips. And the Plain of High Heaven resounded as the eight hundred myriad deities with one accord laughed."

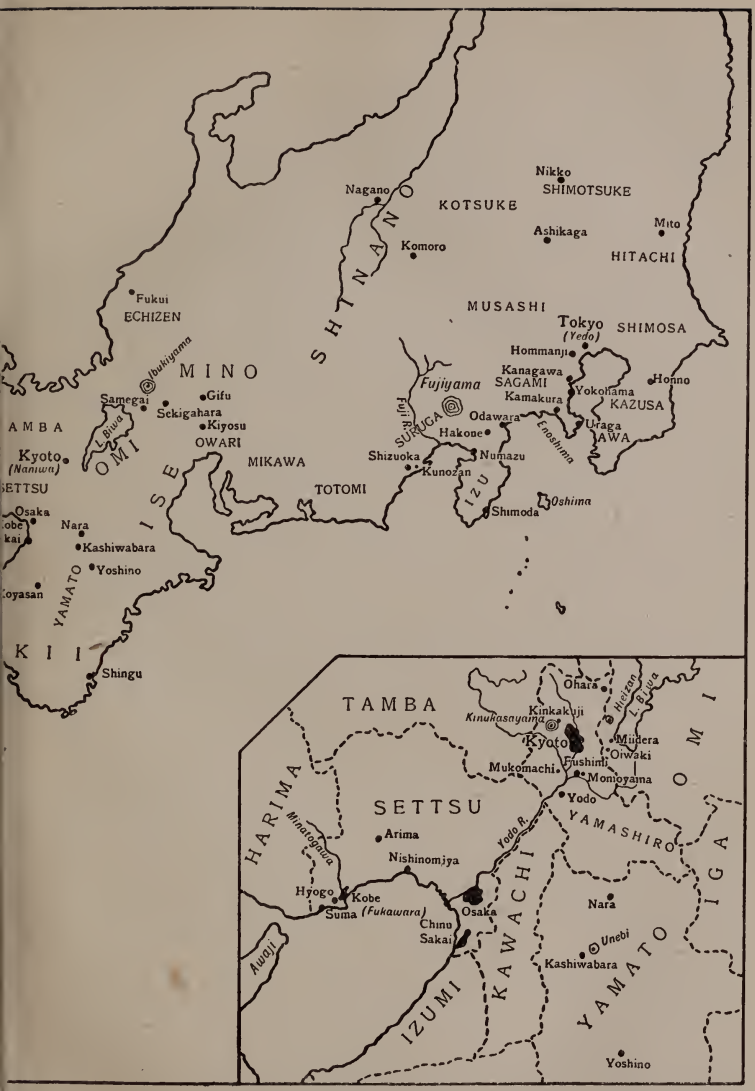
When the Sun Goddess heard the roar of laughter, she was amazed that so much merriment was possible when heaven and earth were in darkness. She inquired why there was so much rejoicing, and Uzume told her that they had made merry because they had found a deity more lovely than Ama-terasu. The Sun Goddess, overcome by curiosity, peeped forth from her place of concealment. When she saw the loveliness of her face reflected in the mirror, she left the cave, escorted by one of the Gods, while another deity tied a rope of straw across the Heavenly Rock Cavern. So it came to pass that the Sun Goddess returned to Heaven and the Gods rejoiced in her golden presence.

It may be that Susa-no-o, alarmed at the temporary departure of the Sun Goddess, repented of his evil ways. Whether he did so or not, we find him neither in the High

[1] The dance of Uzume before the Rock Cave of Heaven is the origin of a dance now performed at Shinto festivals. It is recorded that during Uzume's performance she kindled a fire, which was a prototype of the courtyard fires associated with later Shintoism.

KOREA
Oki Is.
IZUMO
INABA
IWAMI
HARIMA
KIBI
Tsushima
NAGATO (Choshu)
AKI
SUWO
Yamaguchi
Shimonoseki
Yashima
Shido
Awaji
Amako
Iki I.
Kokura
Danaura
Hakata
Oshima
Hayasuhi Ch.
IYO
TOSA
Usa
Hirado
Sasebo
Saga
HIZEN
BUNGO
Nagasaki
Shimabara
HIGO
Amakusa
HYUGA
KYUSHU
SATSUMA
Takachiho
Kagoshima
OSUMI

CENTRAL AND



ESTERN JAPAN.

(Inset, Kyoto Region.)

Plain of Heaven or carrying out his father's instructions by dwelling in the Land of Yomi. We discover him in the Province of Izumo and, what is much more remarkable, as a gallant knight. He learnt from an aged couple that seven of their daughters had been devoured by an eight-forked serpent. Only one daughter remained, and her parents feared that at the appointed time she too would meet a similar fate. Susa-no-o, struck by the beauty of the maiden, offered to destroy the serpent on condition that she should become his wife, an arrangement to which the old couple gladly consented. The monster was slain after it had drunk a quantity of rice wine, and in its tail was discovered a two-handled sword known as "The Sword of the Gathering Clouds of Heaven." Later, as we shall see, it was called "The Grass Mower." [1]

We need not describe in detail the story of Onamuji [2] and his eighty brothers, who were all anxious to marry the Princess of Inaba. It is sufficient to record that Onamuji, thanks to the intervention of the Gods and the assistance of a white hare, married the Princess, and that he afterwards slew his brothers who, through jealousy, had inflicted every kind of cruelty upon him.

One day Onamuji heard a voice from the sea, and "there came riding on the crest of the waves, in a boat of heavenly *Kagami*, a deity dressed in skins of geese, flayed with a complete flaying." He held the little fellow in his hand and begged the Gods to tell him who the dwarf was. Taka-no-musubi replied: "The children whom I have produced number in all one thousand and five hundred. Among them one was very wicked, and would not yield compliance to my instruc-

[1] This sword, together with the mirror and the rosary which were hung outside the Heavenly Rock Cave, form the Imperial Regalia of Japan. They symbolise courage, wisdom, and mercy. There are copies of these treasures in the Imperial Palace, Tokyo.

[2] See *Myths and Legends of Japan*, pp. 256-258.

tions. He slipped through my fingers and fell. This must be that child; let him be loved and nurtured." Skuna Bikona was the name of the deity, an important Shinto god, who now, as Professor Longford informs us, receives special reverence in the temple of Kanda, Tokyo.

During the rule of Onamuji and Skuna Bikona the Central Land of Reed-Plains (Izumo) was in a state of ferment, and when the Gods had assembled in the Plain of High Heaven, it was decided to put an end to these disturbances by sending Ninigi, the grandson of Ama-terasu, to pacify the land.

It was deemed advisable to send ambassadors to Onamuji in order to inform him in regard to the decision of the Gods. The first ambassador neglected his duty, while the second married Ninigi's daughter and attempted to rule the country himself. His treachery was discovered, and he was slain by the angry Gods. Take-mika-dzuchi ("The Brave Thunder") and Futsu Nushi ("The Snapping Master"), sons of Izanagi, were sent to Izumo as final envoys. They did not waste their time as those who preceded them had done. They thrust the hilts of their swords in the ground, sat on the points, and, from this apparently painful position, commanded Onamuji to renounce his sovereignty. He consented to do so, but one of his sons offered a stout resistance, and was only subdued by the envoys' superior feats of strength, both in the balancing of rocks and in an agonising kind of hand-shake. So it came to pass that the land was pacified, and the ambassadors returned to Heaven saying that all was now ready for the coming of Ninigi.

Just before the departure of the Heavenly Grandchild a messenger informed the Deities assembled in the High Plain of Heaven that a strange-looking being dwelt at the eight cross-roads of Heaven. Uzume, who had been so useful on a previous occasion, was sent to investigate the matter. She learnt that the name of the deity was Saruta Hiko, the God

of the Field-paths. Behaving in rather an immodest way she asked him why he impeded the progress of the August Grandchild. Saruta Hiko replied that so far from hindering the coming of the Ninigi he wished to pay him homage and to guide him on his way to earth.

When Uzume had informed the Gods as to the kindly intentions of the God of the Field-paths, the Heavenly Grandchild pushed aside "the eight-fold spreading clouds and dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing" rested on the Floating Bridge of Heaven, and finally reached Mount Takachiho, a peak in the volcanic Kirishima range on the borders of the Province of Hyuga.

Ninigi was accompanied by many gods, among whom were Amatsu-Koyane, said to be the divine ancestor of the famous Fujiwara family. This deity was instructed to guard the Heavenly Mirror, concerning which the Sun Goddess had said to Ninigi: "My child, when thou lookest upon this mirror, let it be as if thou wert looking on me. Let it be with thee on thy couch and in thy hall, and let it be to thee a holy mirror."

The August Grandchild built a palace on the earth, and married the daughter of Great Mountain Possessor, The Princess who makes the Flowers of the Trees to Blossom. This choice angered the bride's sister, Princess Long as the Rocks, who cried out: "Had you chosen me, you and your children and their children would have lived long in the land. Now that you have chosen my sister, you and your children will be as frail as the flowers of the trees."

Of the children born to Ninigi we need only mention two sons, Hoderi ("Fire-shine") and Hoori ("Fire-fade"). Hoderi spent his days in fishing, and he excelled at this sport no less than did his brother as a hunter. One day, when they decided to exchange their gifts, Hoori had the misfortune to lose his brother's fish-hook. Hoderi, thoroughly angry,

refused to accept a tray full of fish-hooks, and Hoori, troubled by his brother's harshness, left his home. He entered the Palace of the Sea God, married that deity's daughter, Toyo-tama (" Rich Jewel "), and had the good fortune to discover his brother's fish-hook. Hoori returned to his home, and after making use of the Jewel of the Flowing Tide, presented to him by the Sea God, Hoderi cried out : " Henceforth I will be thy subject to perform mimic dances for thee. I beseech thee mercifully to spare my life." Hoori flung forth the Jewel of the Ebbing Tide and fulfilled his brother's wish. Toyo-tama gave birth to a son, who married his aunt. One of their children was Kamu-Yamato-Iware-Biko, more familiarly known as Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor of Japan and the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess.

CHAPTER III

FROM JIMMU TO JINGO

ALTHOUGH the Bridge of Heaven no longer floated between the celestial plains and the earth, its absence by no means denoted that the Eighty Myriad Deities had retired forever from their labours and were no longer interested in such mundane matters as the pacifying of lawless tribes that so fiercely resisted the invaders. On the contrary myth and history are still closely united, and for some considerable time we shall find a grain or two of fact buried beneath a mountain of picturesque fancy. The Gods were constantly appearing at opportune moments, performing marvels and blessing the heroes of the land with something akin to divinity. History was held in abeyance and a pageant of wonder displayed in its place.

Ninigi had by no means completed his task of pacifying the country, and Jimmu and his elder brother, Prince Itsu-se, took counsel together in their grandfather's palace on Mount Takachiho, one of the highest mountains in Kyushu, saying: "By dwelling in what place shall we most quietly carry on the government of the Empire? It were probably best to go east." When they reached Usa[1] they met the Prince and Princess of Usa, who built them a palace, and offered them an

[1] This hamlet contains three bright red shrines dedicated to the Emperors Ojin and Chuai and the Empress Jingo. They are known throughout the Island of Kyushu as *Usa-no-Hachiman*. Hachiman is the God of War.

"august banquet." We next hear of them in Aki and Kibi.[1] While crossing the Hayasuhi ("Quick-sucking") Channel they chanced to meet a strange-looking being fishing from the back of a tortoise. When the Emperor and his brother discovered that the fisherman was an earthly deity, they said to him: "Knowest thou the sea-path?" The God replied: "I know it well." When he was asked if he would follow Jimmu, he said: "I will respectfully serve you." So the Emperor pushed a pole across the water to him, and drew the kindly-disposed deity into the vessel, and called him, Sawo-(ne)-tsu-hiko ("Prince of the Pole"). In due course, and after a rough passage, they finally reached the mouth of the Yodo River, on which the famous city of Osaka now stands. The first use of the name Osaka dates from the end of the fifteenth century. It was originally called Naniwa, a possible corruption of *nami haya* ("wave-swift") or *nami hana* ("wave-flowers"). It was a graphic and poetical name bestowed by Jimmu in remembrance of the stormy seas his primitive boats had to encounter on their arrival from Hyuga. Namba, a variation of Naniwa, is the name of one of Osaka's railway stations.

In the vicinity of the Yodo River Jimmu and his brother met with considerable opposition. Prince Nagasune ("Long Legs") raised an army and stoutly resisted the invaders. During the battle, Prince Itsu-se, who had served his brother the Emperor so loyally, was wounded in the hand. We read in the *Kojiki* that when he received the blow, he said: "'It is not right for me, an august child of the Sun Deity, to fight facing the sun. It is for this reason that I am stricken by the wretched villain's hurtful hand. I will henceforth turn, and smite him with my back to the sun.'" Prince Itsu-se washed the blood from his wounded hand in the Sea of Chinu ("Blood-lagoon"), and reaching the mouth

[1] The old names for Bingo, Bitchu and Bizen provinces.

of the River Wo, in the Province of Kii, he exclaimed: "Ah! that I should die stricken by the wretched villain's hand!" We are told that he "expired as a valiant man," and was buried on Kama-yama ("Furnace Mountain").

The period which we are now surveying is full of many a strange myth, which gives ample food to the mythologist but no sustenance to the historian in search of facts whereby he may piece together a fairly consistent story of Old Japan, for once again the miraculous strikes the predominant note. During the early invasion of the central provinces of Japan we read of vapours that overcame the whole of the invading army. Leader and followers lay on the ground in a heavy swoon. A calamity of this kind would have been fatal had not the Sun Goddess intervened, and in a dream made known where the sword of Take-mika-dzuchi was to be found. The sword, associated with Take-mika-dzuchi's interview with Onamuji, was discovered in a storehouse with its hilt in the ground. The miraculous weapon banished the evil vapours and was equally successful in driving away a great bear that rushed forth from the mountains intent on slaughter. When Jimmu was perplexed as to the course he should take, the Sun Goddess again aided him by sending from Heaven the Eight Hand Crow to guide him. The bird led Jimmu and his army over pathless mountains and finally brought them to the River Yoshino.

At Uda the Emperor Jimmu encountered two brothers named Ukashi, who sought to lay a trap for him and slay him. The younger brother, however, resolved at the last moment to have nothing to do with such a treacherous plot, and acquainted Jimmu with the cunning scheme of his brother. Jimmu and his followers forced the elder brother into his own trap and lost no time in killing him, while the younger Ukashi received the favour of Jimmu and now has a prominent place among the hereditary princes of Japan.

Jimmu evidently learnt a lesson from this experience, and resolved to put this particular method of doing away with his enemies to further use. He encountered eighty warriors belonging to a tribe of pit-dwellers, who lived in holes covered with wood and grass. These unsuspecting warriors, who had no one to reveal the plot, were invited by the Emperor to attend a banquet in their pits, and in order to make the invitation still more tempting, he bade eighty of his men wait upon them, each man armed with a sword. While the pit-dwellers were enjoying the banquet Jimmu sang the following song:

> "Into the great cave of Osaka people have
> entered in abundance and are there.
> Though people have entered in abundance
> and are there, the children of the augustly
> powerful warriors will smite and finish them
> with their mallet-headed swords, their
> stone-mallet swords: the children of the
> augustly powerful warriors, with their
> mallet-headed swords, their stone-
> mallet swords, would now do well
> to smite." (*Kojiki*. Translated by B. H. Chamberlain.)

Jimmu's men did smite, and the eighty pit-dwellers were slain.

In the Province of Yamato Jimmu's efforts were crowned with success, and savage deities and unsubmissive aborigines, known in the *Kojiki* as earth-spiders with tails, were either pacified or entirely extirpated. Jimmu, having completely subdued his enemies, dwelt in a palace at Kashiwabara, which he made the capital of his kingdom.

The word "palace" scarcely applies to the primitive buildings of the period. Flat stones served as a foundation, and on these was erected the "heavenly pillar," reminiscent of the love-making of Izanagi and Izanami, and in addition four corner pillars shorter and less stout than the central post.

Beams, bound together with wistaria withes, stretched from the four pillars to the central post: these were thatched with reeds or rushes kept in place by massive logs. A hole served as chimney admitting the smoke of the simple cooking-fire. Doors and windows were made of wood, kept in position with various stout creepers. The walls consisted of logs, and these buildings were generally erected near a stream. Beds consisted of rushes, mats, or skins from the chase, while furs, silk, or cloth served as coverings. The Ainu, as we have already seen, propitiated the Gods on the completion of a new dwelling, and the early Japanese adopted a similar practice. The deities of rice and timber were worshipped when the Emperor built his palace at Kashiwabara, and this religious service of consecration was repeated at coronations and harvest-time.

The Emperor Jimmu died in 585 B.C. at the age of one hundred and twenty-seven, a period of longevity that has its origin in the *Kojiki* and is accepted without question by the Japanese to-day. He is said to have been buried on Mount Unebi in the Province of Yamato, and here is erected a large mausoleum to the first Emperor of Japan. Jimmu is a memorable figure, and it is not to be wondered at that the Japanese hold him in high honour. He had in no small measure fulfilled the command of the Heavenly Deities to subdue the Central Land of Reed-Plains. He was merciful as well as brave, a warrior as well as something of a statesman, ever ready to see the wisdom of a policy that included the co-operation of native princes. By his courage, his strategy, he laid the sure foundation of the Japanese Empire. Professor Longford[1] writes: "From Jimmu, the present Emperor . . . the sovereign of a nation which has acquired all the highest elements of Western science and civilisation, which produces thinkers and inventors who have shown themselves not to

[1] *The Story of Old Japan.*

be on any lower intellectual plane than the most distinguished scientists of Europe, traces his descent in a direct line extending over 2500 years. It is through him that he claims his heavenly origin and the divinity which is not only the divinity that hedges other kings of the earth, but whose essence is that of the Gods who rule the world. The title by which he is known to and spoken of by his subjects is Tenno, the Lord of Heaven, or Tenshi, the Son of Heaven, who rules the world as God incarnate. He is not only the ruler of his people, but the source to whose inspiration and guidance, everything they have achieved, whether in war or peace, is due."

Religion and kingship were almost synonymous terms in early Japanese history, and if we take the trouble to look beneath the western civilisation adopted by the Japanese to-day, we shall find that the two words still bear a marked relation to each other. In times of national danger we realise that the old potent power, aglow in the reign of Jimmu, is still alive to-day. The Emperor, who takes his guidance from a divine source, is an ideal Emperor, and Japanese patriotism, as we know it to-day, is certainly founded on no cheap jingoism. It is based upon an implicit belief that the Mikado is the medium through which his divine ancestors manifest themselves. We may be told of materialism in Japan, the sceptic voice of the student class, the spread of socialism; but after all the mainstay of the Japanese Empire is this very mingling of religion and kingship, divine strength and state-craft so wisely established by the first Emperor of Japan. Indeed, the word *matsuri* ("worship") was identical with the term for government. There was, originally at any rate, no distinction between worship and the secular business of government. The Emperor sought wisdom from the High Plain of Heaven, and ruled his people according to the direction he received from the Gods, while those who assisted him adopted a similar course of procedure.

The Emperor worshipped in his palace where the sacred sword, mirror, and jewel reposed. We hear no mention of shrines apart from the palace, which was in itself a shrine, until the first century before Christ. Religion during the reign of Jimmu, and for some time later, was by no means exclusive. It was found politic to extend the Shinto Pantheon and to include the worship of the ancestors of savage tribes. This latitudinarian attitude was not a matter of wide and tolerant sympathy. It was simply a utilitarian move with a view to conquering the aborigines by means of propitiating the great deceased rulers of their enemies.

Something may here be written in regard to early pastimes, of which songs and dances appear to be the most ancient. The Emperor Jimmu is said to have composed the first poem on meeting the maiden Isuzu. We have already referred to the dance of Izume outside the cave of the Sun Goddess. The first costume dance has rather a curious and painful origin. A deity, threatened with drowning, painted his face red and raised his feet imploring mercy, and this agonising attitude, which in no way suggests a dance from a Western point of view, gave rise to the *hayatomai*, or warrior dance, which is still performed at the Japanese Court. The *ka-gaki*, or poetical picnic, is the oldest form of organised amusement. Men and women met together for the purpose of composing and reciting poems, accompanied by music or dance. Early sport included cock-fighting and hunting, and at a time when much of the country was untouched by the hand of civilisation, deer and boar were plentiful. These animals were driven out from cover and pursued by horsemen, who made good use of their bows and arrows. Hawking was not introduced until the fourth century, and hawks were originally sent to Japan by a king of Korea.

Both the *Nihongi* and *Kojiki* furnish many details in regard to the reign of Jimmu, but of his eight successors they give us

no information apart from bald statements referring to birth, marriage, death, and place of burial. It is not until we come to the tenth Emperor, the Emperor Sujin, who came to the throne in 97 B.C., that the story of Japan is once again full of picturesque and interesting detail.

Sujin ("The Emperor who honours the Gods") is memorable as a great civil reformer. It was his policy to maintain the Empire so dearly won by Jimmu rather than to extend it. At the commencement of his reign a pestilence devastated the land. He saw in this misfortune the anger of the Gods—a misfortune resulting, as he supposed, from some negligence on his part in governing the kingdom. In a dream the devout Emperor was shown that the worship and serving of the Gods within the confines of the Imperial Palace was insufficient. The Heavenly Deities required a wider and more universal homage, and it was not until many shrines were built, the Imperial Regalia transferred from the Palace to Kasanui, in Yamato, under the guardianship of one of the Emperor's daughters, and a distinction made between the higher and the lower Gods, that the pestilence and the rebellion that resulted in consequence came to an end. But the Gods were finally appeased, and with peace in the land Sujin was able to give his attention to such matters as education, agriculture, especially in regard to the extension of irrigation, and the building of ships.

When Sujin wished to appoint his successor he was at a loss to know which of his two favourite sons was best suited for filling so responsible a position. At a time when the Gods were worshipped as they had never been worshipped before, when dreams were regarded as being interpretations of the will of the Heavenly Deities, the perplexed Emperor bade his two favourite sons dream in the hope that their dreams would decide the choice of his successor. The elder son dreamt that he stood on a mountain, turned to the East,

flourished his spear eight times and with his sword dealt the same number of blows, for eight and eighty were magical numbers that are constantly mentioned in the old Japanese chronicles. His younger brother dreamt that he stood on the same mountain. He flourished no sword or spear, but stretched a cord to the four quarters of the compass for the purpose of preventing birds from feeding upon the grain. The dreams had solved the difficulty of succession. The elder brother was to rule over the eastern quarter of the Empire, while the younger brother was destined to come to the throne, and the choice proved to be a wise one, for Suinin ("Dispenser of Benevolence") carried on the tradition laid down by his father, and the kingdom greatly prospered under his beneficent rule.

It was customary, before the reign of Sujin, to bury alive the personal attendants of a deceased member of the Imperial family. The horror of such a custom was forced upon Sujin on the death of his brother, Yamato Hiko, about whose tomb his attendants were buried alive, weeping and wailing for many days. The Emperor Sujin resolved to do away with this terrible and unnecessary human sacrifice. On the death of the Empress her burial was stained with no such inhuman practice. The guild of clay-makers fashioned figures of clay, and these were buried as a substitute for her loyal attendants, and from that time human sacrifice ceased to be associated with Imperial funerals.

Japan's archæological remains date from a few centuries before the Christian era. The most notable are the sepulchral monuments, which are particularly numerous near Nara and Kyoto. The tombs of the early Mikados were nothing more than simple mounds, but at a later date these *misasagi* became a gigantic form of two-fold tumulus surrounded by a moat, and these elaborate royal sepulchres continued to be constructed until Buddhist influence com-

pletely changed the burial rites. The sides of the tumulus are broken by terraces in which are embedded a large number of clay cylinders. Their use is not definitely known. They may have been supports or served as pedestals for clay images which took the place of human sacrifice on the death of a sovereign. The tomb of the Emperor Ojin, near Nara, is about sixty feet in height, while the outer moat measures 2312 yards. The tumulus known as *O-tsuka*, or "Big Mound," in Kawachi, bears upon its slopes a fairly large village. Care has been taken by the Government to preserve, so far as is now possible, the Imperial tombs which have yielded so many objects of antiquarian interest, but in former times they suffered neglect, while almost all have been rifled. A road passes through the *misasagi* of the Emperor Yuryaku, while other royal mounds serve as plots for growing cabbages. Nobles and high officials were buried in smaller mounds, and too often their stone vaults have served as quarries.[1]

The following story is frequently depicted in Japanese art. Princess Sawo, one of the wives of the Emperor Suinin, who succeeded Sujin, was persuaded by her elder brother to kill the Sovereign in order that he might come to the throne. He bade her conceal a dagger in her garments and strike her lord when he was asleep. One day the Emperor reposed with his head on the Princess's lap. The full significance of her brother's treachery and her own compliance in the matter dawned upon her. She withdrew the dagger, raised it three times, intending to strike the fatal blow; but her hand and her heart failed her. She could not kill the defenceless Emperor, who was not only helpless, but had implicit trust in her love for him. She began to weep. Her tears of remorse fell upon the Emperor's face, and he awoke. When she made her confession, the

[1] B. H. Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*, pp. 25-34.

Emperor was magnanimous in his treatment of her, absolving her of all blame, and attributing the crime to her elder brother. Princess Sawo, however, could not remain in the palace after what had taken place, and went to her brother's castle, which was shortly after surrounded by the Emperor's soldiers. While in the castle the Empress gave birth to a child, and the Emperor, whose mercy was beyond praise, wished to stay his hand in remembrance of his love for her. He commanded that the Empress and her child should come to him ; but his request was not complied with and the castle was destroyed by fire. While the building was in flames the Princess Sawo came forth carrying the child in her arms. She explained that she had entered her brother's castle in the hope that the Emperor would extend the same mercy to him as he had to her and absolve him of his guilt. "But now," she cried, "he has not been absolved, and I know that I am guilty. Shall I have my hands tied behind my back? There is nothing left but for me to strangle myself. But even though I, thy handmaiden, die, I cannot bear to forget the favour shown to me by the Emperor." As a last request she begged that the Emperor would take five ladies from Tamba and instal them in the Palace as "fair mates."

Now the Empress had shaved off her hair and allowed the tresses to rest loosely upon her head. Her garments had been rendered rotten, and the string of jewels about her arms extremely fragile. When certain soldiers were commanded to lay hold of her, everything they touched—clothes, hair, jewels—came away in their hands. She returned to her brother, and, conscious of her guilt in spite of the Emperor's gallant refutation, died with her brother.

Suinin, who died in A.D. 70, was succeeded by the valiant Keiko. He commanded his armies in person, subdued his enemies, who stoutly resisted him throughout a long campaign, and finally restored peace to his kingdom. Keiko, brave

and victorious as he was, is a minor figure in history compared with one of his eighty children, the famous Prince Yamato Dake, whose courage and nobility of character have justly made him one of the great heroes of Japan. His daring exploits, his chivalry, his dauntless strength are themes that inspire the Japanese youth of to-day, who regard him as a peerless soldier and most valiant knight, a name revered throughout Japan, where his life is not only admired but thought worthy of emulation by all who hold bravery dear.

Filial piety is held in no less esteem by the Japanese than bravery, and the Prince at an early age showed that he was blessed with this rare virtue. His twin brother was commanded to bring two handsome maidens to the Court. Instead of doing so he married the women himself, and sent two others to the Emperor in their place, thinking to beguile his father by giving them the names of the maidens he had so perfidiously married. But the Emperor saw through his son's deception, wedded neither of the maidens, and bade Prince Yamato Dake, a name which was given him at a later period in his life, seek out his wicked brother and point out the folly of his deception. The Prince absented himself from Court for five days. On the fifth day he returned and informed his father that he had crushed his evil brother to death, pulled off his limbs, and having wrapped them in matting, flung them away. It was an act of justice carried out in a way that may seem to us unnecessarily cruel; but it was prompted by filial piety, so that the incident, in spite of its lurid detail, commends itself to the Japanese and is regarded as an estimable act that adds glory to the name of this famous Prince.

The Kumaso, a race of savages dwelling in Western Kyushu, were in a state of rebellion. The Emperor commanded Prince Yamato Dake to slay a people that had crossed the frontier and given considerable trouble in other ways. The Prince,

seeking a blessing from Ama-terasu upon his enterprise, visited her shrine in Ise. The Prince's aunt, who was high priestess, learnt with joy the story which her nephew told her, and presented him with a silk robe, such as women wear, which she said would be of use to him in his adventures.

Prince Yamato Dake returned to the Palace, bade his father farewell, and set out from the Court with his wife, Princess Ototachibana, and many loyal soldiers. On reaching the country infested with lawless savages the Prince found it expedient to devise a plan calculated to take his enemies by surprise. He accordingly let down his hair and put on the silk robe his aunt had given him, the Princess Ototachibana adding such feminine touches as combs and jewels.

Thus disguised, and looking, indeed, like a handsome woman, the Prince entered a tent where his enemies, Kumaso and Takeru, were sitting discussing, as it happened, the Emperor's efforts to slay their band. Kumaso, thinking that a fair maiden had joined them, beckoned the Prince, and with much delight bade him serve wine. The Prince advanced with short, fluttering steps peculiar to Japanese women. He affected shyness, and feigned to look at his enemies with all the timidity of a bashful maiden.

Prince Yamato Dake did not spare the wine, neither did he relax his efforts to emulate the coyness of a pretty woman. He poured out cup after cup, while Kumaso went on drinking, his eyes bent upon the fair creature who so readily, and with such charm of manner, waited upon him. But it is not possible to drink much wine and to be charmed with the wine-bearer at the same time, and presently Kumaso closed his eyes in drunken slumber. He had no sooner done so than the Prince drew his dagger and slew his enemy.

Takeru, seeing what had happened, arose and attempted to leave the tent, but the Prince struck him down and was

about to slay him when the brigand cried: "For a moment stay your hand. I beg that you will tell me who you are and from whence you come. I once thought that my brother and I were the strongest men in the land. Alas! how greatly am I mistaken." When the Prince had answered these questions, Takeru cried: "Permit me to give you the name of Yamato Dake, because you are the bravest and strongest man in the land." Having uttered these words the Prince thrust in his dagger and the brigand fell back dead.

When the Prince was returning to the capital he met another outlaw also named Takeru, and, again resorting to strategy, he rammed a piece of wood firmly into the sheath of his sword. He invited Takeru to swim with him in the river, and while the outlaw was enjoying himself in the water the Prince, without being observed, landed, took away Takeru's keen sword and left in its place the sheath containing a dummy weapon. Later, when Takeru was dressed, the Prince challenged him to display his swordsmanship. Takeru readily consented, and at once attempted to withdraw what he imagined to be his own sword. While thus engaged the Prince cut off his head.

Having been successful in slaying the leaders of the Kumaso, his father sent him forth to quell an Ainu rising in the eastern provinces, and gave him as a parting gift a spear made from a holly-tree called the "Eight-Arms-Length-Spear." Once again the Prince visited the Shrines of Ise. His aunt, rejoicing in his previous successes, and anxious for victory in the future, lent him the sacred "cloud-gathering" sword, and presented him with a bag which she bade him open in case of emergency.

Prince Yamato Dake and his men came to the Province of Suruga, where a deer hunt was organised for the Prince's entertainment. While he was hunting on an extensive plain covered with high grass, he suddenly became aware of fire,

aware that the hunt was a mere pretext, and that treachery and not hospitality was in store for him. The Prince opened the bag, withdrew a fire-drill, with which he kindled another fire, and with his sword commenced to cut down the grass about him. When he had done so the wind changed and blew the flames away from him, so that eventually the Prince was able to escape without injury, and the sacred sword was called Kusa-nagi (" grass-mower ").

There is only one incident in the life of Yamato Dake that strikes a discordant note. His faithful wife, who had followed him throughout all his adventures, began to lose her outward beauty, though she retained the imperishable beauty of a loyal and loving heart. But the Prince saw only the faded cheek and less bright eye. He chanced to meet the young and fascinating Princess Miyadzu and was enraptured by the cherry-blossom of her face and by her charm of manner. The Prince, feeling no pang of conscience, fell desperately in love with her, and resolved that he would return and make her his wife. Now Princess Ototachibana suffered much from her husband's neglect, and was aware, too, of his infatuation for another woman ; but she kept these things in her heart and showed no sign of visible suffering.

When Prince Yamato Dake stood on the seashore of Sagami he laughed at the name of the Straits, Hashiri-midzu (" running water "), he and his men were about to cross. He not only laughed, but said that the sea was so insignificant that he could jump across it. It was an unfortunate jest, for when the Prince and his company had embarked, the Sea God, angry with the impudent words he had heard, raised so mighty a storm that waves broke over the ship and she was in danger of sinking. In this hour of grave danger Princess Ototachibana, to stay the anger of the Sea God, offered him her own life. She spread upon the tumultuous waves eight rugs of skins, eight of serge, and eight of silk,

and upon them she sat, drifted away, and was drowned. The anger of the Sea God was appeased, and the Prince and his men were saved.

A few days later her comb was found, and a shrine built in which it was preserved. Too little has been written of Japan's heroines. Too often their noble self-sacrifice has been hidden by the more brilliant but not less worthy deeds of the country's heroes. It is good to know that in the village of Honno a temple stands to the memory of Princess Ototachibana, where she is worshipped by humble fishermen who pray to her before they go a-fishing and ask her for calm weather when they put out to sea. "Still more," writes Professor Longford, "is her memory preserved in the name, beloved by poets, of the eastern provinces of Japan. When Yamato Dake, in his later wanderings, reached the summit of the Usui Pass, . . . and gazed from it on the wide extent of the eastern plains that was before his view he sighed, and said, 'Adzuma wa ya' ('alas, my wife!'). So the eastern provinces are called Adzuma to this day."

We read of Yamato Dake's encounter with the deity of a mountain disguised as a white bear, and of the storm that the angry deity invoked by way of vengeance for having dared to visit his sacred abode. We read, too, of this hero wandering alone on Mount Ibuki, uncertain of his course owing to a heavy mist, but finally reaching the foot of the mountain where he rested and drank from a stream. In the village of Samegai will be found the stone and spring where Yamato Dake rested and quenched his thirst, and to this day it is called the I-zame-shimidzu ("the spring of rest and wakening").

By this time Yamato Dake's eventful career was drawing to a close. The heaviness of death was upon him, and while climbing a pass near Oiwake he was so far spent that he had to use his sword as a staff, an incident that gave

rise to the pass being called Tsuye-dsuki-saka ("staff-lean pass"). Still he pressed slowly forward, longing to reach his home, but when he stood upon the Moor of Nobo in Ise he realised that death was calling him. Just before the end came he dispatched a messenger to the Emperor, and that last message was one of filial piety, a regret that death must come before he could once more look upon his father and bid him a last farewell.

Yamato Dake was buried on the Moor of Nobo; but posterity's love for him made it no common burial. It is said that only his cap and clothes lay buried in the ground, while his body was transformed into a snow-white heron that flew swiftly to his home, looked perhaps into the eyes of the Emperor, and then journeyed heavenwards.

The father of the great Yamato Dake died in A.D. 130 and the Emperor's son Seimu succeeded him. He left no son, and his nephew Chuai came to the throne. But although the Emperor Chuai was the son of Yamato Dake and was a man of great physical strength and beauty, nearly all the glory of his reign is associated with his courageous and far-seeing wife, the famous Empress Jingo ("Merit of the Gods").

While the Emperor was playing his lute, we learn from the *Kojiki* that the Empress became divinely possessed. "'There is a land to the westward, and in that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards. I will now bestow this land upon thee.' Then the Emperor replied, saying: 'If one ascend to a high place and look westward, no country is to be seen. There is only the great sea,' and saying: 'They are lying Deities,' he pushed away his august lute. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: 'As for this Empire, it is not a land over which thou oughtest to rule; do thou go to the one road.' Hereupon the Prime Minister, the noble Takeuchi, said: 'I am filled

with awe ; my Heavenly Sovereign, continue playing thy great august lute.' Then the Emperor slowly drew his august lute languidly to him. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, the Heavenly Sovereign was dead."

The Empress Jingo, no doubt moved by this dramatic scene, had implicit belief in the Gods. She was ambitious to extend the Empire, ambitious to discover that land where there was " abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye." It was deemed expedient that the Emperor's death should not be divulged at so critical a time, and especially was this precaution necessary when we remember that the Empress could only carry out her expedition in the Emperor's name. With the assistance of the Prime Minister these plans were successfully carried out, and by way of a preliminary she sought to discover whether or not her enterprise would meet with success. We are told that she fashioned a fishing-line from twisted threads from her robe, to which she attached a needle by way of a simple hook, and stood on a rock in a river, assured that if she caught a fish her expedition would be successful. As soon as line and hook were in the water she caught a trout. She sought one other sign at a time when sovereign and peasant made no move without a friendly nod from a deity. While bathing she believed it would be a good omen if her hair parted in the middle, and we are told that her hair parted as she desired, and from that hour she abandoned feminine attire, and wore the dress of a man.

Divine omens having pointed to success, the Empress Jingo obtained wood and iron from the Spirit of the Mountain for the purpose of building ships. The Spirit of Fields and the Spirit of Grass provided her with grain and hemp, while the Wind God promised to blow her ships toward Korea, or Chosen, the Land of the Morning Calm. At first Isora, the Spirit

of the Seashore, failed to answer the summons of the Empress. Having been called upon a second time, the deity finally appeared above the waves of the ocean, arrayed in seaweed jewelled with many a bright shell. Isora was commanded to go to the Sea King and bring back from his Palace the Tide Jewels, that is, the Jewel of the Flood-Tide and the Jewel of the Ebb-Tide. The Spirit of the Seashore departed and soon returned bearing the precious gift.

On the appointed day in the year A.D. 200 the Empress set sail. A great wave swept the boats toward their destination, while a number of fish rendered valuable assistance by pushing and pulling the vessels through the water. The approaching fleet of the Empress was seen from afar by the Koreans in their southern kingdom, and many lined the shore ready to launch their boats and give battle.

When the Korean war boats sped over the water with their bowmen, the Empress flung into the sea the Jewel of the Ebb-Tide. No sooner had the precious gift of the Sea King sunk beneath the waves than the tide began to recede, so that the vessels of the enemy were left stranded on dry land. The Koreans, thinking that this predicament was due to a tidal wave, very naturally supposed that the back wash would destroy the Japanese boats. They accordingly sprang from their vessels and ran over the sand. When they drew near to the Japanese fleet, the Empress flung forth the Jewel of the Flood-Tide, and immediately a great wave arose and wiped out nearly the whole of the Korean army.

Korea at that time was divided into what were known as the Three Han, viz., Ma-Han, Sin-Han, and Pyong-Han. Japan's relations with that country during her early history did not involve these great divisions, but such principalities as Shiragi (or Silla) and Kara, situated in the south-east and south of Pyong-Han on the Sea of Japan: Kudara (or Pekche), now Seoul and its vicinity, and Korai, also called

Koma, the modern Pyong-yang and its environs.[1] The fleet of the Empress Jingo landed in the Kingdom of Shiragi. The King of Shiragi was surprised, for he governed a kingdom that paid far more attention to the arts than to matters of warfare. Seeing that resistance was useless, he prostrated himself before the Empress, who had set up her staff and spear in front of his palace, emblems of victory that were to remain in that position for five centuries. She made the defeated monarch swear that " until the sun rose in the west and set in the east, until streams flowed towards their source, until pebbles from the river-bed ascended to the sky and became stars," he should maintain his allegiance to Japan. In less flowery language the Empress Jingo desired Korea's allegiance for ever, but although stones did not rise into the air and turn into stars or any other law of Nature change into a miracle, the solemn oath of that old Korean king was destined to be broken by his successors. It was a victory won without a blow, and though there is a touch of the miraculous, the Japanese to-day regard the conquest of Korea, and not only one of her kingdoms, by the Empress Jingo as a historical event. Dr Aston, however, dismisses the whole story as a myth, based upon two historical facts that have been highly coloured and much distorted. The Chinese are silent in regard to the matter. They refer, however, to a female sovereign who sent an embassy to the Court of China in the hope of obtaining permission from the ruler of north-western Korea to travel across his territory. At the time of the alleged conquest of Korea there was undoubtedly a Japanese Empress, and she has been rather unchivalrously described by the Chinese as an old and unmannered woman at the time she sent forth her envoys to the Chinese Court. They stated that she was a highly accom-

[1] *A History of the Japanese People*, by Captain F. Brinkley and Baron Kikuchi.

plished magician who practised the gift of magic for the purpose of deceiving her people at such times when she considered deception to be politic. The Chinese account informs us that she possessed a thousand female attendants, and only one male official, who acted as intermediary between monarch and people. He alone was permitted to see her face. "She dwelt in a palace with lofty pavilions surrounded by a stockade and guarded by soldiers."

The Empress Jingo, having won allegiance from the King of Shiragi, returned to Japan with eighty vessels bearing Korean gold, silver, and silk. It was a triumphant return, and the rejoicing of her people was increased when they learnt that the valiant Empress had given birth to a son.

Whether the conquest of Korea was won without a blow, or whether, as seems more probable, several invasions took place at a later date is not of prime importance. The real victory won by Japan was not so much of arms as the winning of knowledge. Korea was like a moon that borrowed her light from the blazing sun of China, and Korea's borrowed light shone into Japan with very widespread and beneficial results. It was in A.D. 284 that Ajiki, the King of Kudara's ambassador, came to the Japanese Court to pay his usual tribute, bringing with him Chinese literature, while in the following year the same king sent Wani, a Chinese scholar, who presented the Emperor of Japan with the *Analects* of Confucius and the *Thousand Character Essay*.[1]

[1] See *A History of Chinese Literature*, by Herbert A. Giles.

CHAPTER IV

FROM OJIN TO SENKWA

THE Empress Jingo continued to rule for nearly seventy years after her return from Korea. She is not included in the official list of Sovereigns, for she governed the country in the name of her husband, whose death had been kept a secret, and who was considered by the people to be still reigning as Emperor. The Empress Jingo, officially regarded as Empress-Regent, died in her hundredth year, and her son, the Emperor Ojin, commenced his peaceful reign in A.D. 270. He is worshipped as Hachiman, the God of War, sometimes referred to as the Buddha of the Eight Banners. He had no opportunity of displaying warlike abilities, and the reason for this form of apotheosis may be due to the tradition that his birth was retarded for three years, during which period he is supposed to have inspired his mother with courage and wisdom in her famous raid upon Korea. Many magnificent temples were built in his honour, and he also became the patron of the Minamoto clan.

Nothing is recorded in either the *Nihongi* or *Kojiki* that would entitle the Emperor Ojin to the reverence he receives in Japan to-day. He composed indifferent verse, and it is told that, on drinking liquor prepared by Susukori, he sang the following song:

> "I have become intoxicated with the august
> liquor distilled by Susukori. I have become
> intoxicated with the soothing liquor,
> with the smiling liquor."

While walking in the middle of the Ohosaka road he struck a large stone with his staff, " upon which the stone ran away." Hence the proverb : " Hard stones get out of the drunkard's way."

In the reign of the Emperor Ojin the Fisher Guild, the Mountain Guild, the Mountain Warden Guild, and the Ise Guild were established. These *Be*, or Guilds, were not unlike those of the later Roman Empire. In Japan they were very numerous, and fulfilled many purposes. The Fleshers' Guild, originally composed of serfs, and established by the Emperor Yuryaku, supplied the Imperial Palace with provisions. This guild, and many others, were merely local, but there were several of much greater significance, such as the Guild of Palace Attendants, Stewards, and Archers established in every province by the Emperor Seinei in order that the members should preserve the memory of his three childless consorts. The *Be* were abolished in A.D. 646.

When Ojin died neither the Prince Imperial or his brother Oho-sazaki was anxious to come to the throne. The Prince Imperial thus addressed Oho-sazaki : " ' He that shall rule over the Empire and govern the myriad subjects should overspread them like Heaven, and comprehend them like Earth. If there is above a cheerful heart with which to employ the people, the people are happy and the Empire tranquil. But here am I, a younger brother, and moreover wanting in talent. How shall I presume to succeed to the Dignity and to enter upon the Celestial task ? But thou, O great Prince, art distinguished in appearance and of a far-reaching benevolence. Thou art also of ripe years and art fit to become Lord of the Empire. The late Emperor established me as his Heir. But was this for my abilities ? No, it was simply because he loved me.' " Speech followed speech, and choice were the compliments of these brothers who were anxious to point out that one was fit for rule and the other for service.

The Empress Jingo on her Expedition to Korea.

From a *kakemono* in the Anderson Collection, British Museum.

Both were resolved to escape if possible the dignity of the throne with all its responsibilities, and flattery and excessive modesty continued to be much in evidence.

If these two brothers were by no means anxious to come to the throne, Prince Oho-yama-mori was angry that his father, the Emperor Ojin, had not made him Prince Imperial, and feeling resentment at being passed over by the late Emperor, he resolved to kill the Prince Imperial and in due course "ascend to the Imperial Dignity." Fortunately Oho-sazaki heard of the plot and was able to warn the Prince Imperial to surround himself with a strong band of soldiers. Prince Oho-yama-mori was content to take with him a few hundred men, for he did not know that his plot was already discovered. Arriving at Uji, he was about to cross the river; but at that time the Prince Imperial had divested himself of his royal apparel, put on simple hempen garments, and mingled with the ferrymen. It so happened that Prince Oho-yama-mori mistook his brother for a ferryman and stepped into his boat. In the middle of the river the boat was made to heel over and Prince Oho-yama-mori fell into the water. While floating down stream, the soldiers of the Prince Imperial sprang from ambush, and the wicked Prince was killed and buried on Mount Nara.

According to the *Nihongi* "three years passed during which the Imperial rank was vacant. A loyal and well-disposed fisherman brought a basket of fresh fish and desired that the Prince Imperial at the Uji Palace would deign to accept it. The Prince informed the fisherman that as he was not Emperor he had better present it at Naniwa. The perplexed fisherman obeyed, and when he reached Naniwa he was told by Oho-sazaki to go to Uji. The fisherman went from town to town so many times that the fish became putrid, whereupon he had to throw his gift away, and in doing so he wept bitterly. Hence the proverbial saying:

'There is a fisherman who weeps on account of his own things.'"

The question of the Imperial Office began to weigh upon the mind of the Prince Imperial, and he resolved to take his life. When Oho-sazaki heard of his brother's death he sat upon the corpse and loosened his hair, saying three times: "'Oh, my younger brother, the Imperial Prince!'" For a few moments the Imperial Prince came to life, and thus his brother reproachfully addressed him: "'Oh, what a grief! Oh, what regret! Why didst thou pass away of thine own accord? If the dead had any knowledge, what would the late Emperor think of me?'" The Prince Imperial replied: "'It is the command of Heaven. Who may stay it? If I should go to the place where the Emperor is, I will tell him of all the Prince, my elder brother's wisdom, and also of my abdication.'" Having thus spoken he expressed concern that his brother might be fatigued with the journey and offered him the Princess Yata, saying: "'Though she is unworthy of thy nuptials, she may in some small measure serve to be entered in the number of the side Courts.'" Having thus spoken, the Prince Imperial lay down in his coffin and died. He was buried on the hill of Uji. His brother put on unbleached garments, "and his lamentation was exceedingly pathetic."

In 313 Oho-sazaki, better known as Nintoku, came to the throne. Nintoku was a wise and just ruler. He it was who made the following memorable speech: "'We ascended a lofty tower and looked far and wide, but no smoke arose in the land. From this we gather that the people are poor, and that in the houses there are none cooking their rice. We have heard that in the reigns of the wise sovereigns of antiquity, from every one was heard the sound of songs hymning their virtue, in every house there was the ditty "How happy are we." But now when we observe the people, for three years

past, no voice of eulogy is heard ; the smoke of cooking has become rarer and rarer. By this we know that the five grains [hemp, millet, rice, wheat, and barley] do not come up, and that the people are in extreme want. Even in the Home Provinces there are some who are not supplied ; what must it be in the province outside our domain ? ' " This humane Emperor, seeing the distress of his subjects, abolished taxes and forced labour for three years. Well aware of the poverty of his people he practised various personal economies which the *Nihongi* enumerates while the *Kojiki* ignores them. The Emperor went without new clothes and shoes. His diet was of the simplest, and we are told that " He disciplined his heart and restrained his impulses so that he discharged his functions without effort." There was no rebuilding in the Palace enclosure. The thatch decayed, but no attempt was made to replace it. Rain poured through the crannies in the roof and damaged the coverlets, while " starlight filtered through the decayed places and exposed the bed mats."

When three years had passed, the Emperor again ascended his tower, and, looking in every direction, he saw smoke arising. He now rejoiced to find that the country was prosperous again. " ' When Heaven establishes a Prince,' " said he, " ' it is for the sake of the people. The Prince must therefore make the people the foundation. For this reason the wise sovereigns of antiquity, if a single one of their subjects was cold and starving, cast the responsibility on themselves. Now the people's poverty is no other than Our poverty ; the people's prosperity is none other than Our prosperity. There is no such thing as the people being prosperous and yet the Prince in poverty.' "

So humane was this worthy Emperor that it was not until 322 that forced labour was again imposed for the purpose of repairing the Palace. Small wonder that " the people, without superintendence, supporting the aged and leading by the

hand the young, transported timber, carried baskets on their backs, and worked their hardest without distinction of night or day, vying with one another in the construction. In this manner, ere long the Palace buildings were every one completed."

The Emperor now perceived that continuous rains in conjunction with the rise of the sea would make many villages uninhabitable, and that certain highways would be covered with mud. While the Mamuta embankment was being constructed with a view to checking the overflow of the Northern River, the earthwork gave way in two places and it was found impossible to fill the apertures. The Emperor in a dream was told that if Koha-kubi and Koromo no ko were sacrificed to the River God, the gaps would be permanently closed. The men were found, and Koha-kubi, after he had wept and lamented, plunged into the water and perished, and one aperture was effectively sealed. Koromo no ko wished if possible to evade the sacrifice. Taking two calabashes, and standing by the embankment, he exclaimed: "'O thou River God, who hast sent the curse [to remove which] I have now come hither as a sacrifice. If thou dost persist in thy desire to have me, sink these calabashes and let them not rise to the surface. Then shall I know that thou art a true God, and will enter the water of my own accord. But if thou canst not sink the calabashes, I shall, of course, know that thou art a false God, for whom, why should I spend my life in vain?'" The calabashes did not sink in the water. Koromo no ko, who was an artful sceptic, did not die, and, for a reason which is not explained in the *Nihongi*, the second aperture in the embankment was repaired. "Koha-kubi's Gap" and "Koromo no ko's Gap" were the names given to these two places at that time.

Other engineering feats, if we may use such a term, are referred to in this reign. A great canal was dug in Kahachi and the water of the Ishikada River was brought to irrigate

waste plains. Reference is also made to the making of the Pond of Wani and a bridge at the Wikahi ferry. It was during Nintoku's reign that hawking, introduced from Korea, became a pastime, and a method of storing ice for Court use first came into vogue.

The Emperor Nintoku was, as we have already seen, a wise and beneficent ruler. Unfortunately his domestic affairs did not always run smoothly. He had a jealous wife, and it must be admitted in her defence she certainly had cause for jealousy. The Emperor fell in love with Kuhada no Kugahime, one of the ladies of the Palace. He thus addressed one of his personal attendants: " ' It is our desire to bestow affection on this damsel, but, harassed by the Empress's jealousy, we have not been able to become united to her. Many years have passed. Why should she waste her years of bloom ? ' " In its way it was a magnanimous speech, and Hayamachi, who was apparently unencumbered, stepped forward and in a brief song offered to wed the maiden. Kugahime, however, would have nothing to do with him.

We have already seen that the Emperor's brother, just before he died for the second time, gave Nintoku the Princess Yata with many apologies for her shortcomings. Now Nintoku desired to make her his concubine, and in a verse duet he discussed the matter with the Empress who finally refused to allow the Emperor to have anything to do with the Princess Yata. Rather unwisely the Empress at that time went on a visit to the Province of Kii. At Cape Kumano she gathered *mitsuna-kashila*, which were probably leaves suitable for drinking-cups, and set out upon the return journey. No sooner had the Emperor become aware of the Empress's absence than he married the Princess Yata and placed her in the Palace. When the Empress reached Naniwa she heard of the Emperor's infidelity, and was so angry that she flung away the leaves she had gathered and refused to land. The

Emperor, unaware of the Empress's wrath, went down to the Great Harbour, and, in a spirit that seems to us decidedly brazen, made the following song :

" Ye men of Naniwa,
Haul along the bell-(hung) ship.
Soaked as to your loins,
Haul along that ship.
Haul along the great august ship."

The Empress did not anchor in the Great Harbour. Deeply incensed against her husband she continued her journey by way of Yamashiro. The Emperor, much distressed by the flight of the Empress, bade Toriyama overtake his " beloved spouse," for so he chose to call her in one of his impromptu songs. But the Empress would not come back and pushed on to the River of Yamashiro, crossed Mount Nara, and finally returned to Yamashiro, where " she built a Palace on the south side of the Hill of Tsutsuki, and dwelt there."

The Emperor did not despair of persuading the Empress to return. This time he sent Kuchiko to the Palace of Tsutsuki. The writer of the *Kojiki* sees the humour of the situation and thus describes the scene: " So when the Grandee Kuchiko was repeating this august Song [to the Empress], it was raining heavily. Then upon his, without avoiding the rain, coming and prostrating himself at the front door of the Palace, she on the contrary went out at the back door ; and on his coming and prostrating himself at the back door of the palace, she on the contrary went out at the front door. Then, as he crept backwards and forwards on his knees in the middle of the court, the streams of water reached to his loins. Owing to the grandee being clad in a garment dyed green and with a red cord, the streams of water brushed against the red cord, and the green all changed to red colour." During this performance Kuniyori-hime wept bitterly. The Empress inquired why her handmaiden was

so sorely distressed, and the maid replied: "'He that lies prostrate in the courtyard and begs an audience is thy handmaiden's elder brother. He is wet with the rain, and does not flinch, but still lies prostrate in the hope of an audience of thee. This is why I weep and am sorrowful.'" A rain-soaked grandee and a tear-stained handmaiden made no impression upon the angry Empress. She bade Kuchiko return, telling him that she was fully resolved never to rejoin the Emperor.

The Emperor, having found that his messenger had failed to induce the Empress to return, resolved to set forth in person. When he reached the Palace of Tsutsuki, the Empress refused to appear before him, giving as her reason that she had no desire to be associated with the Princess Yata as Consort. We are informed in the *Nihongi* that "The Emperor hereupon resented the Empress's great indignation, but yet continued to love her." The Empress died in the Palace of Tsutsuki in 347 and was buried on Mount Nara in 349. A year later Princess Yata was appointed Empress.

The Emperor's love-affairs did not end in the favours he showered upon the new Empress, and he desired to possess the Princess Medori. He sent as his middleman[1] Prince Hayabusa wake, who betrayed his trust and married her himself. An indiscreet remark by the Prince suddenly changed the lenient attitude the Emperor had originally taken in the matter, and he desired to slay them both. The lovers fled, followed by Wofuna and others, who finally slew the Prince and Princess on the Moor of Komoshiro in Ise.

Before Nintoku's successor "assumed the exalted Dignity," he wished to make Kurohime his concubine. Having dispatched presents to the lady, he sent the Imperial Prince Nakatsu to inform her of the meeting. Prince Nakatsu, however, seduced her himself, and it so happened that in

[1] A middleman (*nakodo*) still negotiates marriages in Japan. See B. H. Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*, pp. 309-14.

leaving Kurohime's house he forgot his wrist-bells. The Heir, not knowing that Prince Nakatsu had betrayed his trust, had assumed his elder brother's name, entered the lady's chamber, and sat down upon the jewel-couch. He was surprised to hear the sound of bells, and inquired, saying: "'What bells are these?'" Kurohime, puzzled by his question, told him that they were the bells he brought with him on the previous night. The Heir then realised what had happened, and "retired in silence."

It was just as well that the Heir left the Palace, for the building was set on fire by Prince Nakatsu, who did not know that his brother had fled. When the Heir reached Hanifu Hill, he looked back at Naniwa and saw a blaze of fire. Greatly alarmed he pressed forward in the direction of Yamato. At Mount Asuka he met a girl who informed him that the mountain was full of armed men. The Heir, having composed a poem on the maiden's timely information, turned aside and succeeded in raising troops in the district.

In the meantime Akoko assembled an army on behalf of Prince Nakatsu, but when Akoko confronted the Heir, he grew afraid, and said: "'Information has reached me that something unusual has happened to the Prince Imperial, and in order to assist him I am waiting upon him with this force that I have prepared.'" The Heir mistrusted Akoko, and attempted to kill him. Akoko then admitted his offence and begged that the Heir would accept his sister Hinohime ("The Princess of the Sun"). The gift was accepted, and the *Nihongi* states that this was probably the first time a tribute of this kind was sent to the Palace.

While the Heir was living in the shrine of Furu no Iso no Kami, his brother the Imperial Prince Midzuha wake came to him and declared that he feared the rebellion of Prince Nakatsu and wished to serve the Heir. The Heir commanded that Midzuha wake should slay Nakatsu.

Prince Midzuha wake became acquainted with a retainer of Prince Nakatsu named Sashihire. " ' If thou wilt kill the Imperial Prince,' " said he, " ' I will reward thee liberally.' " Prince Midzuha then removed his coat and trousers of brocade and Sashihire put on the garments, and, taking his spear with him, slew the Imperial Prince Nakatsu. Sashihire was put to death for his service.

Rebellion quelled, the Heir came to the throne in 400 and was known as the Emperor Rikiu (" Treading in the middle "). No important events are recorded during his reign. Kurohime was appointed Imperial Concubine, and there is a reference to hunting in the Island of Awaji where the God Izanagi took objection to " the stench of blood." After divination had been resorted to, it was discovered that the God could not endure the smell of the branding of the Horse-keepers' *Be*, a guild that had accompanied the Emperor during his hunting. As the result of Izanagi's protest the branding of this particular *Be* was discontinued. On one occasion a cherry flower fell into the Emperor's cup while he was feasting. As it was not the season for cherry-blossom, he sent one of his Ministers to inquire into the matter. Cherry trees in full flower were discovered on Mount Wakikamunomuro. The Emperor was so delighted that he called his Palace Ihare no Wakazakura. Unfortunately the *Nihongi* is wrong in stating that this was the origin of the name, for the Empress Jingo's capital was at Ihare and was also called Wakazakura.

We know little of the Emperor Hanzei who assumed the Imperial Dignity in 406. We are told that " at his birth his teeth were like one bone, and his appearance was beautiful." We are also informed that he died " in the chief sleeping-chamber," with the inevitable reference to the Imperial Concubine.

The Emperor Ingyo (" Sincerely courteous ") was excessively modest. When his Ministers wished to present him with the

Imperial Signet, he refused to accept the gift. He was, moreover, afflicted with a disease and unable to walk. After dwelling upon his malady and saying that he was a fool, he declined to fill the Imperial Office. At length the Prince's concubine said: "'O Great Prince, comply with the general wish, and, however reluctantly, assume the Imperial Dignity.'" The Prince would not consent, and turned his back upon her. The lady, however, continued to remain in the chamber with her hands in a basin of water. She remained thus for over two hours. A fierce and bitter wind blew, and the water froze upon her arms till she could hardly endure the pain. The Prince chanced to look round, and whether he was moved by what he saw or whether he had thought better of his Ministers' counsels is not known. He had, however, made up his mind to assume the Imperial Dignity.

A Korean physician was able to cure the Emperor of his malady, and after the doctor had been liberally rewarded he was sent to his own country. In the fourth year of his reign, 416, he resolved that his subjects should each have his proper place and name. When his Ministers had taken counsel together, they said: "'If your Majesty, restoring that which is lost and correcting that which is perverted, will thus determine Houses and surnames, your servants will stake their lives in recommending the adoption of such a measure.'" It was decided that the Ministers, functionaries, etc., of the various provinces, should practise abstinence, and, calling upon the Gods, plunge their hands in boiling water. Caldrons of boiling water were accordingly provided and were "placed on the 'Evil Door of Words' spur of the Amagashi Hill." It was believed that those who were truthful would be unharmed, while those who were false would suffer. When this trial by ordeal was over "the Houses and surnames were spontaneously ordered, and there was no longer anyone who falsified them."

At a banquet in the new Palace the Emperor played on the lute and the Empress danced. Now when the Empress had finished her dance she should have said, "I offer thee a woman"; but she omitted the compliment, for like many royal ladies she was jealous. When the Emperor remonstrated with her, the Empress repeated her dance, and when it was over very reluctantly made the compliment custom imposed on such an occasion. When the Emperor inquired the name of the woman he was told that the handmaiden was called Otohime, or Sotohori Iratsume, because the beauty of her form shone through her raiment.

Otohime seems to have feared the Empress's jealousy more than the Emperor's displeasure, for when Ikatsu was sent to fetch her, she refused to accompany him for fear of wounding the Empress's feelings. Ikatsu then lay prostrate in the courtyard for seven days, telling Otohime that he would rather starve to death than return to the Emperor without her. Poor Otohime, not knowing that the artful Ikatsu had an ample supply of food concealed about his person, was under the impression that she would be the cause of his death. On the seventh day she consented to be led to the Emperor.

It was found expedient not to house the fair Otohime in the Palace. A separate building was erected at Fujiwara where she dwelt, and to this building the Emperor frequently repaired. During the Empress's confinement the Emperor visited Otohime. When news of the event reached the Empress's ears, she attempted to commit suicide, and exclaimed: "'Many years have passed since I first bound up my hair and became thy companion in the inner palace. It is too cruel of thee, O Emperor! Wherefore just on this night when I am in childbirth and hanging between life and death, must thou go to Fujiwara?'" Although Otohime desired "'to be always near the Royal Palace, and night and day without ceasing to view the glory of Your

Majesty,'" she was nevertheless painfully aware of the jealousy of the Empress, who was her elder sister. At length Otohime requested that she might live far away from the Palace. She accordingly dwelt in the Palace of Chinu. Four times the following appears in the *Nihongi*: "The Emperor made a progress to the Palace of Chinu." Very tactful and dignified was the comment of the Empress: "'Thy handmaiden is not a whit jealous of her younger sister. Only she fears that the people may be distressed by Your Majesty's frequent progresses to Chinu. I humbly pray thee to diminish the number of thy visits.'"

The Island of Awaji seems to have been a favoured spot for hunting. On one occasion when the Emperor visited this island "the deer, monkeys, and wild boar, like dust-clouds filled the mountains and valleys. They sprang up like flames of fire, they were dispersed like flies. And yet all day long not a single beast was caught." Just as the Emperor and his attendants were about to return, Izanagi said that at the bottom of the Sea of Akashi there was a great pearl, which if it were sacrificed to him he would allow many beasts to fall to the hands of the hunters. The pearl was discovered and offered to the God, "and a hunt being made they caught many beasts."

The Emperor Ingyo's eldest son, Prince Kara, would under ordinary circumstances have come to the throne, but he wedded his sister. "The soup for the Emperor's meal froze, and became ice. The Emperor wondered, and had divination made in order to learn the meaning of it." The diviners at once declared that the Emperor's soup had frozen because of the illicit marriage of Prince Kara. At that time marriages between brothers and sisters of different mothers but the same father were not uncommon; but in this case the relationship was of pure blood. Ministers and people alike refused to confer the throne upon Prince Kara. He was banished

to Iyo where his sister joined him, and the succession was conferred upon the younger son, the Emperor Anko (453–456).

The Emperor Yuryaku (457–479), while on a hunting expedition with Prince Oshiba, who had a moral claim to the throne, slew the Prince with an arrow, and, after cutting up the body, buried the pieces in a manger, while the other son of the Emperor Rikiu was disposed of in a more humane manner. It was only when these princes were removed that Yuryaku was able to assume the Imperial Dignity.

There are many references to hunting expeditions in this as in other reigns of the early Emperors. The Emperor Yuryaku on one occasion went hunting with a god, and they were so polite that in chasing a deer " each declined in favour of the other to let fly an arrow at him. They galloped on, bit to bit, using to one another reverent and respectful language, as if in the company of genii." On another occasion while the Emperor was hunting, a bird, described as like a sparrow with a long tail, said : " ' Have a care ! Have a care ! ' " No sooner had the bird spoken than a wild boar rushed upon the huntsmen. The Emperor, observing the terror of his attendants, said : " ' When a savage beast meets with man, it straightway halts. Encounter it with a shot from your bows, and then stab it.' " But the attendants were afraid of the boar and climbed up trees. The Emperor, however, held his ground, and when the boar rushed upon him, he drew his bow and stayed its course. " Then, raising his foot, he killed it with a kick." The Emperor, disgusted by the cowardly action of his followers, desired to slay them. He would have done so had not the Empress very tactfully made the following remark : " The people all say, ' His Majesty is fond of the chase, and loves game. Is not this wrong ? ' If now Your Majesty, on account of a savage boar, puts to death your attendants, Your Majesty is, as it were, not different from a wolf." The Emperor recognised the wisdom

of the Empress's words, and when they were returning to the Palace he exclaimed: "'How delightful is this! Everybody has caught game, and we have caught good words, which we have brought back with us.'"

With a view to encouraging the silk industry[1] the Emperor desired the Empress and his concubines to plant mulberry trees. He instructed Sukaru "to make a collection of silkworms throughout the country. Now Sukaru made a mistake and collected babies, which he presented to the Emperor. The Emperor laughed greatly, and gave the babies to Sukaru, saying: 'Do thou bring them up thyself.'" Sukaru's mistake, ludicrous as it may seem on the surface, was a matter of philology. The Japanese for silkworm is *kahiko*, while *kahi* means "to nurture," and *ko* "little one."

Tasa no Omi, while officiating in the Palace, indiscreetly praised Waka-hime before his friends, saying: "'Of all the beautiful women in the Empire, there is none to compare with my wife. How blooming! How gentle! How graced with various charms! How radiant! How genial! What perfection in every feature! She uses not flower of lead. She adds not oil of orchids. Through the wide ages her equals are but few; in the present day she stands alone and peerless.'" Shortly after this tribute of praise had been uttered the Emperor compelled Tasa to enact the *rôle* of Uriah the Hittite, and sent the official as Governor of Mimana (or Kara) in Korea. In the meantime the Emperor married Waka-hime, and when Tasa heard the news he became a traitor and associated himself with the Kingdom of Shiragi.

Prince Oshiba, who was murdered by the Emperor Yuryaku, left two sons. They fled from the Palace and entered the

[1] Si-ling She, the principal consort of Hwang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, 2697 B.C., first instructed the Chinese in the art of rearing silkworms. See *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, by W. F. Mayers.

Province of Harima where, reduced to great poverty, they became grooms and cowherds. The Emperor Seinei (480–484), vexed that he had no children, established various *Be* "in the hope of leaving a trace which might be seen of posterity." During the feast of first-fruits, Wodate, the new Governor of Harima, recognised that the two cowherds who were in attendance sang songs they could only have learnt at Court. He discovered that they were the long-lost sons of Oshiba, and heirs to the throne. We are told that "he took them reverently to his bosom," and when he had temporarily lodged them, he rode in haste to the Emperor to report the good news. The Emperor exclaimed: "Admirable! Delightful! Heaven in its bountiful love has bestowed on us two children!" In due course the sons of Oshiba assumed the Imperial Dignity as the Emperor Kenzo (485–487) and the Emperor Ninken (488–498).

The Emperor Kenzo said: "'The late Prince [Oshiba], having met with much misfortune, lost his life on a desert moor. We were then children, and fled away and concealed Ourselves. We have searched for his honoured bones far and wide, but there is no one who can tell where they are.'" After making further inquiries an old woman named Okime informed the Emperor that she knew where the royal bones were buried. The old woman, accompanied by the Emperor and his brother, went to the Moor of Kaya in Kutawata. The honoured bones were mixed up with those of Nakachiko, but the skull of Prince Oshiba was identified by means of his prominent teeth. The earthly remains of both were buried in one grave and no distinction was made in performing the funeral rites. Okime, whose service had been much appreciated, was thus addressed by the Emperor: "'Old woman! thou art desolate and infirm, and walking is not convenient for thee. Let there be a rope stretched across to support thee when thou goest out and comest in. And let there be a

bell attached to the end of the rope, so that there may be no need for anyone to announce thee. When thou comest, ring this bell, and we shall know that thou art coming.'" At length the old woman grew so feeble that she was unable to walk even with the help of a rope. She begged that the Emperor would allow her to return to her native place. He complied with her request, and composed the following song:

"Oh Okime!
Okime of Afumi!
From to-morrow,
Hidden by the deep mountains
Thou wilt no more be seen!"

The second brother, the Emperor Ninken, was succeeded by the Emperor Muretsu (499–506). It was said of this Emperor that "he worked much evil, and accomplished no good thing." He was hopelessly degenerate, and the account of him given in the *Nihongi* reminds us of such Chinese debauchees as Chow Sin. He was inordinately cruel, and took a delight in plucking out men's nails and making them dig up yams, forcing others to lie down in "the sluice of a dam" till they were washed away after he had severely wounded them with "a three-bladed lance." Other men, having their hair pulled out, were forced to climb trees where they were either shot at or brought to the ground and killed by the felling of the trunks. He took a delight in all these tortures, while his atrocities in regard to women are too terrible to be described. He encouraged dwarfs and performers to execute riotous music, and night and day were spent in the company of women and in the drinking of long and frequent potations of *sake*. The writers of the *Nihongi*, in concluding the account of this unworthy Emperor, add one picturesque detail, almost, it seems, by way of apology: "His cushions were of brocade, and many of his garments were of damask and fine white silk." Many modern historiographers

are of the opinion that Muretsu, the Nero of Japanese history, has been confused by the compilers of the *Chronicles* with his contemporary, King Multa of Kudara, who was guilty of every kind of gross cruelty, and was finally deposed by his subjects. Although we know that the old chroniclers of Japanese history were prone to draw upon Korean writers, they are scarcely likely to have borrowed such an inhuman monster.[1] Muretsu was succeeded by the Emperors Keitai (507–531), Ankan (534–535), and Senkwa (536–539), concerning whose reigns nothing of importance is recorded.

[1] See *A History of the Japanese People*, by Captain F. Brinkley and Baron Kikuchi.

CHAPTER V

THE COMING OF BUDDHISM

We have already described the invasion of Korea by the Empress Jingo. For more than three centuries after her conquest the Koreans sent annual tribute to Japan. The Land of the Morning Calm, in spite of its poetical name, was a kingdom divided against itself. The King of Pekche or Kudara sought Japan's protection against the attacks of Shiragi and Kara. In 552 he sent an embassy to Japan for the purpose of getting the Yamato Court to dispatch soldiers for the protection of his much-harassed kingdom. The ambassadors did not go empty-handed. They brought with them a gold and copper image of Shaka Muni (Buddha), and in addition a number of *sutras*, flags, and umbrellas. Reference is also made in the *Nihongi* to the presentation of a man learned in divination, another well-versed in the calendar, a physician, two herbalists, and four musicians. With the sacred image of Buddha and the canonical books the King of Pekche sent the following memorial to the Emperor Kimmei (539–571):

"This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain and hard to comprehend. It can create religious merit and retribution without measure and without bounds, and so lead to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom. Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes in proportion as he used them. Thus it is with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine. Every prayer is fulfilled and

naught is wanting. Moreover, from distant India it has extended hither to the three Han, where there are none who do not receive it with reverence as it is preached to them. Thy servant, therefore, Myong, King of Pekche, has humbly dispatched his retainer to transmit it to the Imperial Country, and to diffuse it abroad throughout the home provinces, so as to fulfil the recorded saying of Buddha: 'My law shall spread to the East.'"

We read in the *Nihongi:* "This day, the Emperor, having heard to the end, leaped for joy, and gave command to the envoys saying: 'Never from former days until now have we had the opportunity of listening to so wonderful a doctrine. We are, however, unable to decide of ourselves.' Accordingly he inquired of his Ministers, one after the other, saying: 'The countenance of this Buddha which has been presented by the Western frontier State is of a severe dignity such as we have never at all seen before. Ought it to be worshipped or not?'"

Opinion was divided as to the adoption of the Buddhist religion. Soga pointed out to the Emperor, in reference to the sacred image, that "'All the Western frontier lands without exception do it worship. Shall Yamato alone refuse to do so?'" Nakatomi and Mononobe did not agree with Soga. "Those who have ruled the Empire," they said, "in this our State have always made it their care to worship Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, the one hundred and eighty Gods of Heaven and Earth, and the Gods of the Land and of the Grain. If just at this time we were to worship in their stead foreign deities, it may be feared that we should incur the wrath of our National Gods."

Whether the Emperor regarded Nakatomi, who happened to be high priest of the Shinto faith, as one altogether too biassed to form a reliable opinion we cannot say. When the Monarch had carefully considered the words of his Ministers he

said: "Let it (the image) be given to Soga, who has shown his willingness to take it, and as an experiment, make him worship it."

Soga knelt down and received the image with great joy. He placed it reverently in his house, which he purified and made into a temple, carrying out in the meantime the rites of retirement from the world. The "experiment" proved to be anything but satisfactory. No sooner had the zealous Soga performed the offices we have described than a pestilence ravaged the country, and so severe was the scourge that many people perished. This calamity gave Nakatomi and Mononobe an opportunity of chiding the Emperor, to whom they said: "'It is because thy servants' advice on a former day was not approved that the people are dying thus of disease. If thou dost now retrace thy steps before matters have gone too far, joy will surely be the result! It will be well promptly to fling it [the image] away, and diligently to seek happiness in the future.'"

Seeing that disaster had followed the Emperor's previous decision, he could scarcely do otherwise than accept the advice of these conservative Ministers who clung to their old Gods and would have nothing to do with a foreign religion. Officials accordingly took the image of Buddha and threw it into the canal at Naniwa. They also burnt the temple where the sacred figure had been worshipped, and the building was reduced to ashes. When the image had been thrown into the water and the temple burnt to the ground, we are told that "there being in the heavens neither clouds nor wind a sudden conflagration consumed the Great Hall [of the Palace]."

The sacred image was rescued from the canal, and the persistent Soga, having obtained permission from the vacillating Emperor, built another temple for its reception. A year later strange Buddhistic music was heard, and a

log of camphor-wood was seen floating on the sea. Such signs seemed to indicate divine approval, and the Emperor commanded that two images of Shaka Muni should be made from the wood that had poured forth such sweet music.

The Emperor Kimmei died in 571 and was succeeded by Bidatsu (572–585). During his reign the guardianship of the sacred image was under the protection of Soga no Umako, the son of Soga no Iname. He was no less zealous than his father had been, and was diligent in his efforts to propagate Buddhism in Japan. He sent in all directions for those who were learned in the teachings of the Buddha, but the search only resulted in finding Hye-phyon, and he who had once been a Buddhist priest had become a layman at the time of Soga's demand for teachers. However, Hye-phyon was persuaded to become a *bonze* again, perhaps because Soga "caused him to receive Shima, the daughter of Shiba Tatto, into religion." Soga built a temple on the east of his dwelling where he installed the sacred image and that of Miroku, the Buddhist Messiah. "At this time," we read in the *Nihongi*, "Tatto found a Buddhist relic in the food of abstinence, and presented it to Soga, [who] by way of experiment, took the relic, and placing it on the middle of a block of iron, beat it out with an iron sledge-hammer, which he flourished aloft. The block and the sledge-hammer were shattered to atoms, but the relic could not be crushed. Then the relic was cast into water, when it floated on the water or sank as one desired." It will be observed that these doubting Thomases of the Buddhist faith were more thorough than reverent in their drastic examination. The relic survived the test and was pronounced to be the pupil of one of Buddha's eyes. Soga and his disciples rejoiced, and "held faith in Buddhism and practised it unremittingly."

In 585 Soga became ill. He sought an interpretation

from a diviner and learnt that he had been afflicted because the faith of the Blessed One had fallen into neglect. Soga hastened to inform the Emperor, who commanded that the people should henceforth diligently observe the teaching of Buddha.

At this time the country was stricken with another great pestilence, and Ministers opposed to the foreign religion thus addressed the Emperor: "'Why hast thou not consented to follow thy servants' counsel? Is it not the prevalence of pestilence from the reign of the late Emperor thy father down to thine, so that the nation is in danger of extinction, owing absolutely to the establishment of the Buddhist religion by Soga?' The Emperor gave command, saying: 'Manifestly so; let Buddhism be discontinued.'"

Mononobe, the arch-enemy of Buddhism in Japan, was delighted when he heard the Emperor's decree. He entered Soga's temple, cut down the pagoda, and set it on fire, and once more the sacred image was thrown into the river. In the *Nihongi* we read: "On this day there was wind and rain, and Mononobe had on his rain-coat." Mononobe roundly abused Soga on account of his religion, and summoned Zenshin and the other nuns of Soga, and these poor women were stripped of their garments and flogged in the market-place. This sacrilegious act resulted in the Emperor being attacked by the pestilence, and, in repentent mood, he gave Soga permission to practise the Buddhist religion alone. "So the three nuns were given back to Soga, who received them with rejoicing, lamenting their unexampled misfortunes, and bowing down his head in their honour. He built them a Temple anew, into which he welcomed them, and provided them with sustenance." The sacred image of the Buddha, having lain in the river bed for fourteen years, was recovered, and for half a century it was under the protection of natives of Shinano. It was finally placed in the Temple of Zenkoji

at Nagano in 602, and, enshrined in a series of boxes, it is worshipped by many pilgrims at the present time.

Prince Mumayado (572–621), better known by his posthumous title of Shotoku Taishi, has been described as the "Constantine of Japanese Buddhism." He was the son of the Emperor Yomei, and acted as Regent under the Empress Suiko (593–628). He was famous as a general, statesman, and Buddhist propagandist, and it is also reported that he was an artist and sculptor of considerable distinction, but no less an authority than Dr William Anderson regards his reputed paintings and sculptures as apocryphal. His foreign policy was particularly successful, for his embassies to Shiragi in 597 and 600 resulted in tribute being sent to Japan. With this Korean success, obtained by diplomacy and not at the point of the sword, he claimed for Japan an equal dignity with the great Chinese Empire.

The influence of Shotoku Taishi upon Buddhism is incalculable. He was not only Japan's first Buddhist saint, but the first great Japanese patron of learning in its widest meaning. He poured into the darkness of ignorance the light of science and art, and propounded a religion that struck deeper roots than Shintoism and gave forth more profound and more vital truths than those associated with the national faith. He revealed to the wondering eyes of the Japanese people the great civilisation of China.

Shotoku Taishi framed the first code of laws based upon Chinese philosophy, and these laws still bear fruit in Japan to-day. The code was known as the Constitution of the Seventeen Articles, and was issued in 604. The Articles are briefly as follows: Art. I. A plea for concord. Art. II. The acceptance of Buddhism. Art. III. The dignity of the Emperor. Art. IV. The duties of rulers and magistrates. Art. V. Bribery and corruption. Art. VI. Lying and flattery. Arts. VII., VIII. The evils of hereditary office. Art. IX.

The result of those evils. Arts. X.–XIV. The responsibility of hereditary holders of office. Art. XV. The significance of sages and saints. Art. XVI. The exercise of patience and self-control. Art. XVII. "Never act on your own private initiative or authority; and never take any step of importance without consultation. In a doubtful case, consult the more."

Such varied gifts were not likely to escape the embellishing hand of legend, and fanciful stories were spun by zealous Buddhists who saw in the Crown Prince a saint worthy of high honour. Indeed, some of them went further and claimed that Shotoku Taishi was an incarnation of Kwannon, an improvement on the story that he was born outside the Imperial stables and given the name of Mumayado ("Stable Door"). According to legend he could speak when he was four months old. Eight months later he turned to the East, folded his hands, and prayed to Buddha. So potent was the invocation that when the boy opened his hands they were found to contain the pupil of the Blessed One's eye. The Prince built the monastery of Horyuji between Osaka and Nara, and here the holy relic was deposited. The monastery, which exists to-day, is the oldest type of Buddhist architecture in Japan. It contains paintings alleged to be the work of the founder. A heap of swords and mirrors testify that many a believer has received an answer to his or her prayer to the Gods.

The Prince is also known by the name of Yatsumimi-no-Oji ("Prince of Eight Ears"), because he is said to have been able to hear the appeals of eight persons at the same time, and give to each a fitting answer. When he was sixteen years old he was on the battlefield fighting against the traitorous head of the Mononobe who had opposed the Emperor's accession. When the Imperial army had received a third repulse, the Prince exclaimed: "Without prayer we cannot

Shotoku-Taishi.

(Centre figure; the smaller figures are the young princes his brothers.)

From a rare woodcut *kakemono* in the Imperial Household of Japan.

succeed." He accordingly carved a representation of the Deva Kings and wore it in his hair, while to those who served him he gave pictures of these Buddhist Guardians, and bade them wear the sacred figures upon their armour. The young Prince vowed that if success should crown his efforts he would build a temple in honour of the Deva Kings. He rallied his men and an archer killed the head of the Mononobe. The opposing army, destitute of a leader, was utterly routed.

The Prince did not forget his promise in the event of victory. He built the famous Temple of Tennoji at Osaka, which Hearn described in one of his letters as " a queer, dear, old temple." To-day the original dedication seems to be lost sight of. There is a shrine called Taishi-do, dedicated to Shotoku Taishi, and another shrine containing the " Bell of Leading." This bell is rung in order that the saintly Prince may lead the dead into Paradise, and among the departed must be many souls of children, for various toys are to be found before the shrine. Within the temple there is a stone chamber where water pours forth from the mouth of a stone tortoise. Slips of bamboo, bearing the names of those who have recently died, are dipped into the sacred water by means of a long stick, and the stream is believed to carry prayers for the departed to the great Shotoku Taishi.

When this valiant, wise, and saintly Prince died the people exclaimed: " ' The sun and moon have lost their brightness. Heaven and Earth have crumbled to ruin—henceforth in whom shall we put our trust ? ' " The Prince had succeeded in making the Empress Suiko a most ardent convert to the Buddhist faith. She became, indeed, almost fanatical in her zeal, issuing religious edicts, bidding princes and ministers possess images of Shaka Muni, while sculptors of Buddhist deities received her royal favours. From 591–759 five of the rulers of Japan were women, and they were all most zealous, if somewhat hysterical, Buddhists.

When Soga died in 626 there were forty-six Buddhist temples with eight hundred and sixteen priests and five hundred and sixty-nine nuns in Yamato. During Soga's illness a thousand men and women "entered religion" for his sake. But Japanese Buddhism soon began to show signs of corruption. Men and women were taking religious vows, not as the result of a strong conviction, but rather as the result of emotional excitement. The elaborate ceremonial of the Buddhist church and the number of magicians and exorcists that flourished at that time won a host of converts, who were too often little more than excited fanatics whose faith was merely a means to obtaining prosperity in this world and the next. We hear of a priest striking his grandfather with an axe. The act would have been regarded as brutal and unwarrantable if it had been committed by the laity: associated with a Buddhist priest it became still more grave. The scandal led to a thorough investigation of the temples, and many erring priests and nuns were ejected. Japanese and Korean officials were appointed for the superintendence of Buddhist ecclesiastics in order that Buddhism in future should not be associated with undesirables.

When the Empress Kotoku ("Piety and Virtue") came to the throne in 642 there was a terrible drought. Her Ministers took counsel together, and there was a great sacrifice of horses and cattle before the Shinto Gods in the hope that the misfortune would cease. Neither sacrifice nor prayer caused rain to descend upon the parched ground. At length one Minister, who must have regarded religion from a very utilitarian point of view, suggested that a portion of the *Mahayana Sutra* should be read in the temples, the people sincerely repent of their sins, and prayers offered up in the spirit of humility. In short, this Minister, having found the Shinto Gods deaf to the supplications of the people, was deter-

mined to see if Buddhism would bring about the desired result. We read in the *Nihongi*:

"27th day.—In the South Court of the Great Temple, the images of Buddha and of Bosatsu, and the images of the Four Heavenly Kings were magnificently adorned. A multitude of priests, by humble request, read the *Mahayana*[1] *Sutra*. On this occasion Soga no Oho-omi held a censer in his hands, and having burnt incense in it, put up a prayer.

"28th day.—A slight rain fell.

"29th day.—The prayers for rain being unsuccessful, the reading of the *Sutra* was discontinued.

"8th month, 1st day.—The Empress made a progress to the river-source of Minabuchi. Here she knelt down and prayed, worshipping towards the four quarters, and looking up to Heaven. Straightway there was thunder, and a great rain, which eventually fell for five days and plentifully bedewed the Empire.

"Hereupon the peasantry throughout the Empire cried with one voice '*Banzai*,'[2] and said—'A Sovereign of exceeding virtue!'"

We have now briefly sketched the coming of Buddhism from Korea to Japan and seen the various vicissitudes through which it passed in the hands of Soga and his son. We have seen, too, how the teaching of Buddha prospered under the control of the wise Shotoku Taishi. It now remains to say something of the immense influence Buddhism exerted upon the Japanese nation. The Korean King had certainly not overestimated the value of his gift. He had said in his memorial: "Imagine a man in possession to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes in proportion as he used them. Thus it is with the treasure of this wonderful

[1] Literally "the Large Vehicle," the later and amplified form of Buddhism.

[2] "May you live ten thousand years!"

doctrine." It was high praise, but this glowing tribute was destined to be fulfilled in Japan. Buddhism did not attempt to extinguish any existing faith. Some of its most noteworthy conquests had been made among ancestor-worshipping races. It destroyed no primitive beliefs either in India, China, Korea, Siam, or Burmah, and in Japan the same tolerant attitude was adopted. Indeed, at one time, it seemed that Buddhism would absorb Shintoism. It was that famous wonder-worker, Kobo Daishi, who declared in the eighth century that the higher Shinto Gods were incarnations of various Buddhas.

Buddhism produced a humanising effect upon the Japanese. It made known the sacredness of life, and taught a gospel of tenderness to all living things. It taught human beings the significance of acts committed in this world in relation to a future existence. It taught the Way of the Buddha and the means of enlightenment. But the influence of Buddhism was more than simply religious. It brought architecture, painting, engraving, sculpture, printing, gardening. It brought all that was most beautiful and valuable in art, industry, and learning from China. It struck an unforgettable note in the Japanese Empire, and gradually fashioned the Japanese race into the most artistic people in the world. It was this foreign religion, and not the old Shinto faith, that brought the beautiful to Japan, to a fair country that was a fit setting for all the glories of Buddhist art. It created magnificent temples superbly carved and rich with sacred paintings. It painted the red frown of Emma-O, the Lord of the Dead, as well as the radiant smile of Jizo, the God of Japanese children, and Kwannon, the Goddess of Mercy, with her many supplicating arms. It fashioned gigantic images, such as those at Nara and Kamakura, and having portrayed the beautiful in big things, it revealed the same loveliness in such minute objects as the toggle of a tobacco-

pouch and a sword-guard. It painted the torments of Hell, but it also painted the delights of Paradise and the harmonious detail of a Japanese garden.

Buddhism was a great educative factor in the development of Japan. It made priests of emperors, nuns of princesses. It controlled in no small measure the administration of laws. Buddhism was a tremendous moral force. It taught rich and poor, wise and foolish, ethics as well as æsthetics. All Japanese art worthy of the name owes its inspiration to Buddhism, and the same applies to nearly all Japanese literature. The golden image of Buddha brought a golden age of enlightenment to Japan, and it is impossible to overestimate her indebtedness to a religion that conveyed so much that was beautiful, wise, and comforting into a country that had need of these things.

CHAPTER VI

THE FUJIWARA AND THE NARA PERIOD

We have seen in the previous chapter how Buddhism in Japan, after meeting many reverses, finally became a widespread and very beneficial influence throughout the country. But Shintoism seems to have lost little of its ancient prestige at this time. "The Way of the Gods" was also the way of the Emperors, since, in accordance with a time-honoured tradition, Emperors and Gods were synonymous. Japanese history, from the introduction of Buddhism down to the Restoration of the Emperor in 1868, when the powerful Shogunate was finally abolished, resolves itself into a matter of family feuds. Emperors from time to time exerted their authority. Theoretically they were still the fountain of wisdom, the direct descendants of the Gods, but the predominant power was not to be found in the Imperial Dignity but in the hands of a great family. The Emperor became a puppet relegated to the background, and Japanese history no longer centred round the Mikado but round various political factions whose ambition and over-weening power became the dominant force. The Fujiwara family that exerted so widespread an influence, beneficial and otherwise, over the Empire for four centuries, the Taira and Minamoto associated with the Gem-Pei wars of the Middle Ages, the Hojo usurpers, and the Ashikaga Shoguns were names that loomed so large in Japanese history as to overshadow the once supreme power of the Emperor.

The Emperor Jomei (629–641) was succeeded by the Empress Kokyoku (642–645). The Nakatomi at this time were still the high priests of the Shinto religion. They by no means confined their attention to religious matters, for they sought to control the succession to the throne. Their power grew rapidly, and eventually they went so far as to call their children Princes and Princesses, and their houses palaces. The Soga family, as we have seen, was mainly responsible for the spread of Buddhism in Japan. It was a rival family the Nakatomi were determined to crush, and they were successful in killing the father and son of the Soga house.

In 645 the Empress abdicated, and her younger brother, Kotoku, reigned in her stead for nine years. He was responsible for many excellent reforms, and during his reign "registers of population were prepared." On his death Kokyoku again assumed the Imperial Dignity and she was succeeded by her son, the Emperor Tenchi (668–671).

The Emperor Tenchi has been described as "one of the most enlightened sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of Japan." He is particularly memorable in connection with the favour he bestowed upon the Nakatomi family. The head of the family at that time was Kamatari, and the Emperor conferred upon him the cap of "Great Woven Stuff," the official cap denoting the title of Daijin, or Private Minister. In the *Nihongi* we read: "He also granted him a surname, and made him the House of Fujiwara." Fujiwara means wistaria-field, and the crest of this illustrious family is the wistaria flower. Kamatari, unlike many of his descendants, did not abuse the royal favour he received. On the contrary, he had the interest of the people at heart, lightened taxation, reduced forced labour, and was responsible for many reforms. If the Emperor Tenchi showered favours upon the Fujiwara family, he was no less prodigal in extending a warm welcome to Korean refugees.

These Koreans founded a district of their own, and their colonisation, particularly in regard to art and culture, exercised a most beneficial influence. Tenchi died in 671, and one of the Court ladies, who was evidently in love with him, wrote the following touching poem entitled " Elegy on the Death of the Mikado Tenchi ":

" Alas ! poor mortal maid ! unfit to hold
High converse with the glorious gods above,
Each morn that breaks still finds me unconsoled,
Each hour still hears me sighing of my love.

Wert thou a precious stone, I'd clasp thee tight
Around mine arm ; wert thou a silken dress,
I'd ne'er discard thee either day or night ;
Last night, sweet love ! I dreamt I saw thy face."
(Trans. by B. H. Chamberlain.)

One of the tenets of Buddhism is that meditation and solitude are essential to spiritual enlightenment. Many Emperors, following the Chinese custom, abdicated and led the life of a religious, and those who retired from the turmoil of state were known as Ho-O, or cloistered Emperors. Their retirement was originally voluntary, but the astute Fujiwara saw that this Buddhist tenet might be used advantageously for political purposes. Far less scrupulous members of the Fujiwara than Kamatari were now in power. Voluntary abdication was not always sufficient to serve their purpose. In order that they might control the power of the State they exerted a great influence over the Emperor during his minority, and compelled him to abdicate when he had arrived at manhood. The Fujiwara were strongly opposed to Imperial independence. They were the real power of the Empire, and they consolidated that power by marriage with the Emperors and Princes of the Imperial line. They usurped the Imperial Dignity, and while they held the reins of Empire, the Emperors, bereft of power, were either meditating upon

Underwood and Underwood.

Stately Splendour of Tennoji Temple and its Pagoda, S.-E. Osaka.

the teaching of Buddha, patronising art and literature, or leading the life of a voluptuary.

In 710, during the reign of the Empress Gemmyo, Nara became the first great capital of Japan. Hitherto a new sovereign had been synonymous with a new capital, so that the places assigned to the Court were only of ephemeral interest. Nara, however, remained the permanent capital for nearly the whole of the eighth century. The city was more or less a replica of the Chinese capital of Hsian. With its seven great Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines and palace, its wealth of cherry and plum and gigantic cryptomeria trees, its range of hills rising from a lovely and fertile plain gave Nara a splendour that has never been surpassed. It is associated with Buddhism at the height of its power, and no less with art and literature. Here indeed was a city of beauty where craftsmen executed their finest work and where Sovereign and people alike showed a devotion to Buddhism which in itself was the motive power of many of the splendours of that great city. Nara is now less than a tenth of its former size, but it remains to-day one of the miracles of Japan. Bishop Phillips Brooks said " that he had seen no holy place on earth which had so moved his soul as Nara."

In the enclosure of the great Todaiji Temple is the Imperial Treasure House, built in 756, spared for over a thousand years from the ravages of earthquake, flood, and fire. The Imperial Treasure House is only opened once in each reign, and then only to persons of distinguished rank. Such illustrious personages as Yoritomo and Iyeyasu were not permitted to evade the time-honoured custom. Here as nowhere else can be studied the historic wealth of Asiatic civilisation. Here the favoured may see the personal belongings of the Emperor Shomu (724-756) and his consort Komyo, belongings that throw light upon the daily life of more than a thousand years ago. The glory of that ancient city has

not passed away. Temples, monuments, sculpture, and wonderful religious paintings all tell of the splendour of the Nara period. The poet Sakimaro has sung :

" Never thy hills might tire my gaze, and never
Far from thy dwellings might I wish to roam ;
Thy streets, stretch'd out across thy plain for ever,
Each house some loyal and sturdy warrior's home.

And so I trusted that, till old and hoary,
The heav'ns and earth should on each other fall,
Nara might sparkle with perennial glory,
And Nara's palace hold the Lord of all."

(Trans. by B. H. Chamberlain.)

The first great epidemic of smallpox in Japan was brought into Kyushu by a fisherman who had returned from Korea. The scourge spread eastwards and reached Nara in 735, where it brought death to many hundreds of the inhabitants, including four members of the great Fujiwara family. The Gods were propitiated, but still the epidemic continued to gather a host of victims. At length the Emperor Shomu decided to construct a colossal Buddha in the hope that so great a proof of devotion would put an end to the troubles. The Shinto Gods, however, could not be ignored during such a crisis. A priest named Gyogi was sent to Ise in order to consult the wishes of Ama-terasu, and to lay before her a Buddhist relic. Gyogi remained a week close to her temple gate. At the expiration of that time the doors of the shrine opened and the Goddess made known to the priest that she favoured the Imperial project. When Gyogi returned to the Court he learnt that the Emperor had had a dream in which the Sun Goddess appeared and spoke favourably in regard to constructing the great Buddhist image.

In 740 there was a revolt in Kyushu, which hindered the Emperor's project from being carried out for the time being, but three years later, when the revolt was suppressed, an

Imperial edict was issued commanding the people to contribute to the great undertaking. Gyogi went in person over the greater part of the Empire for the purpose of collecting various contributions. With such an estimable object in view the people gladly and generously responded to the call. The image was begun at Shigaraki in Omi, and the Emperor himself directed the work, but the model was unsatisfactory and not completed. In 747, when the Emperor had returned to Nara, another image was cast, and we are told that Shomu brought earth for the construction of the platform.

No less than seven unsuccessful attempts were made to make the gigantic figure of the Lord Buddha. Only when Kimi-maro, a Korean, consented to act as superintendent did the work prosper, and the image was successfully cast in 748. Rich and poor alike contributed to the great Roshana[1] Buddha. Peasants made humble offerings of grass, and Court ladies carried clay for the core of the image on their large silk sleeves. Statistics differ in regard to the quantities of materials used. According to Mr James Murdoch[2] 500 Japanese pounds of gold were used for gilding purposes, 16,827 pounds of tin, 1904 pounds of mercury, and 986,180 pounds of copper, in addition to lead. The image is fifty-three feet in height, and is four feet higher than the Daibutsu at Kamakura. But these figures, startling as they are, pale into insignificance compared with the wonder of that image as a work of art. Gods are carved upon the great upturned lotus upon which the Buddha sits, while three hundred golden statues depend from the great halo.

As soon as the gigantic image was completed the devout Gyogi "passed away into the Invisible." The golden figure of the Buddha was destined to look down upon a strange and

[1] Personification of Light, a deity ingeniously identified with the Shinto Sun Goddess.

[2] *History of Japan.*

impressive scene. The Emperor Shomu, the Empress, and her daughter, accompanied by many Court nobles, went in state to the Todaiji, and taking up the humble and reverential position of a subject in the Palace, the Emperor proclaimed himself the servant of Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood, or what is known as the Three Precious Things.

The daughter of the Emperor Shomu, the Empress Koken, abdicated in favour of the Emperor Junin (759–765). Koken, however, who was one of the most strong-minded women of Japanese history, maintained her power. The Emperor Junin showered favours upon Fujiwara Oshikatsu and promoted him to "the first grade of the first class of rank," a distinction that had only been shared by two others in the annals of Japanese history. His position awakened considerable jealousy among other members of the Fujiwara family, and the priest Dokyo, Koken's spiritual adviser, attempted to crush his influence. He possessed himself of the Imperial Seal and raised an army with the intention of overthrowing the priest. The action on the part of Oshikatsu awakened the anger of Koken. A fierce fight took place on the south-west of Lake Biwa, and the Fujiwara chief was slain as well as many of his supporters. The Emperor Junin was accused of joining Oshikatsu in an attempt upon the ex-Empress's life. He was banished to Awaji, and Koken ascended the throne for the second time.

The handsome Dokyo, acting as spiritual director and chief physician to the Empress, was now the most influential subject in the Empire. Indeed, it has been said of this "Wolsey of Japan" that he so far forgot his priestly calling as to make the Empress his mistress. He was taken into the Palace and made Chancellor of the Empire. He now conceived a daring plan whereby the old order of Emperors should be supplanted. He went further than this, for he had every intention of becoming Emperor himself. He

instructed a hanger-on to dream that the God Hachiman had prophesied that everlasting peace would pervade Japan if Dokyo were made Emperor. The "dream" was reported to the Empress, but she told her spiritual adviser that it was not within her power to confer the Imperial Dignity upon him, and that she wished to consult Hachiman in regard to the matter. She accordingly bade Wake no Kiyomaro go to Usa and make inquiries of Hachiman concerning the choice of an Emperor. Before Kiyomaro departed on his mission Dokyo told him frankly that the only report he was to bring back was one specifying that Dokyo should become Emperor. Kiyomaro was aware of the cunning priest's intrigue, and when he returned from Usa he brought back the following message: "In our Empire, since the reign of the celestial spirits, and under their descendants, no one not of their stock has ever been honoured with the Imperial Dignity. Thus it was useless for you to come here. Retrace your steps; you have nothing to fear from Dokyo." Dokyo, naturally angered by these words, had Kiyomaro mutilated and exiled to the Province of Osumi. At about this time the Empress died, and she was succeeded by the Emperor Konin, a grandson of the Emperor Tenchi. Dokyo's glory vanished with the death of the Empress. After taking up his abode close to her tomb he was banished to Shimotsuke, where he became a humble priest, shorn of all power, and content to serve "the god who presides over remedies." There was something ironical in his being the priest of such a deity, for Dokyo must have discovered that there was no remedy for one once exalted and now humiliated to the dust.

The Emperor Kwammu (782–806) realised that the monastic influence of Nara was opposed to the best interests of the Empire. He knew from the lives of Dokyo and Gembo that ecclesiastical nominations were anything but desirable. In 784 he decided to remove the Court to Nagaoka, about

thirty miles from Nara, and situated between Yamazaki and Arashi-yama in the Province of Yamashiro. A little later the priest Saicho commenced to level the summit of Hiei-zan, where was built an imposing temple with a view to averting all evil influence according to the science of geomancy. To the south-west of this mountain was a fertile plain about ten miles from Nagaoka and to this spot Kwammu once again transported the Court. He bestowed upon the new capital the name of Heian-jo, or the City of Peace, but the name is now forgotten, and the city is known as Kyoto, which means the capital. Kyoto remained the seat of the Emperors until 1868.

CHAPTER VII

KIYOMORI AND THE TAIRA

THE Fujiwara, even at the height of their power, had been content to fill various civil offices. At one time the great family, with its almost incalculable influence, had been the dominant governing force of the Empire, but growing effeminate it gradually became inefficient and incapable of resisting a more virile rival. When it was necessary to quell the barbarians of the north, an insurrection in Kyushu, or a Korean rising, the Fujiwara selected commanders from military families, and the most famous of these were the Taira and the Minamoto, more familiarly known at that time by the Chinese name of Hei and Gen, for Chinese was then the learned language of the East. The Fujiwara had become mere figure-heads, delighting in Court ceremonial, in patronising the arts, and in bestowing favours upon dancing-girls. They were refined in everything but their morals. They composed many poems of exquisite beauty; but they were holding the reins of government so loosely that "the provinces were in as much confusion as the tangled fibres of hempen thread." The decline of the Fujiwara was at hand, and their fall was due to their effeminacy on the one hand and on the other to their failure to grasp the significance of the new military power that was destined to shine with such brilliance in the Taira and Minamoto families.

Taira Tadamori had a *liaison* with a concubine of the Emperor. He was one of the Imperial favourites, and when

his offence was discovered he was not only forgiven but told that if the child born of the union were a girl the Emperor would adopt it, but if a son then it should belong to Tadamori. In due time a son was born to Tadamori, and he was known as Taira Kiyomori. As a youth he showed conspicuous success in his operations against pirates on the west coast. He was destined to become not only the head of the Taira but one of the great figures in Japanese history. Like Nobunaga he was more memorable for his indomitable will than for the higher gift of a subtle and constructive imagination. Both Kiyomori and Nobunaga resembled Attila. They were far removed from Yoritomo and Hideyoshi, who were statesmen as well as warriors.

When the Emperor Konoye (1142–1155) died there was a dispute in regard to succession. The ex-Emperor Toba (1108–1124) had promised his favourite concubine, the Lady Bifuku Mon-in, to place her son on the throne. The ex-Emperor Sutoku, on the advice of Yorinaga, was determined to assume the Imperial Dignity himself and raised an army in the neighbouring provinces to which the monasteries of Nara contributed.

Shortly after the son of the Lady Bifuku Mon-in had ascended the throne as the Emperor Go Shirakawa, his father, the ex-Emperor Toba, died. He had given his favourite concubine a box which she was told to open in time of trouble. As her son's throne was seriously threatened by the army raised by the ex-Emperor Sutoku, she wisely opened the box and discovered the very counsel she was sorely in need of. She found in the box the names of those who could be relied upon to support her cause, and at the head of the list was Yoshitomo. She called this distinguished commander to her service and also Kiyomori, though his name had not been given by Toba. Those in support of the ex-Emperor Sutoku were led by Tameyoshi, Yoshitomo's father and brothers,

the most famous being the Tametomo, a giant who was second to none in the art of wielding an immense bow.

Sutoku and Yorinaga went to the old Palace of Shirakawa, which was garrisoned with three hundred of the Minamoto and Taira clans. The garrison, considerably outnumbered by the army of Yoshitomo and Kiyomori, made a brave stand. Tametomo, who defended the Western Gate with twenty-eight men, made good use of his tremendous bow, and it was only when Yoshitomo succeeded in setting fire to the Palace that his followers could make any appreciable headway. The fire spread so rapidly that the defenders were forced to take flight. Most of the leaders succeeded in hiding from the enemy, but Yorinaga was slain by a stray arrow. When it was announced that those who had espoused the cause of the ex-Emperor Sutoku were to be banished, many came from hiding and gave themselves up. Among them was Tadamasa, the uncle of Kiyomori. The Emperor Go Shirakawa ordered Kiyomori to slay Tadamasa, and the order was fulfilled without the least hesitation, for Kiyomori was cruel and unscrupulous and stopped at nothing that would lead to his advancement. But Yoshitomo was guilty of a more barbarous act, for he slew his father and brothers, with the exception of Tametomo, who, while attempting to escape, had the sinews of his right arm cut and was exiled to the Island of Hachijo. Years later, and when his arm had recovered its old power of drawing the bow, he is said to have escaped to the Luchu Islands, where he became the ancestor of the kings of these islands. While being attacked by the Kwanto troops, and when most of his followers had been killed, he disembowelled himself. Mr Murdoch writes: "It is the first authentic notice I have so far met with of that practice of *hara-kiri*, the 'happy dispatch,' which was presently destined to become one of the most distinctive institutions of the feudalism of Japan."

The ex-Emperor Sutoku was banished to Sanuki, and his son, Prince Shigehito, was forced to become a priest.

During the Emperor Go Shirakawa's brief rule of three years, the reins of government were in the hands of Fujiwara Michinori. It was he who was responsible for meting out reward and punishment. He favoured Kiyomori and made him Governor of Harima and Acting Viceroy of Kyushu. The only recompense Yoshitomo received for his services was the insignificant command of the cavalry of the Imperial Guard. Yoshitomo not unnaturally resented the very poor reward received, and, in the hope of currying favour, he was weak enough to offer his daughter to Michinori's son. His offer was not accepted, and Yoshitomo had the humiliation of seeing Michinori's son married to a daughter of Kiyomori.

Yoshitomo had now good reason to be dissatisfied with the powerful Michinori and the rapidly rising Kiyomori. When Fujiwara Nobuyori, the pampered favourite of the ex-Emperor, was compelled to forego the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Guards at the instigation of Michinori, he was so incensed by the rebuff he had received that he decided to gather together his fellow-clansmen, do away with Michinori, and take by force the position he so much coveted. It required little persuasion on Nobuyori's part to induce the dissatisfied Yoshitomo to join his cause.

On January 14, 1160, Kiyomori, accompanied by his son Shigemori and a few attendants, set out for Kumano. Yoshitomo and Nobuyori regarded this move as affording a favourable opportunity of carrying out their project. With five hundred men they attacked the Palace of the ex-Emperor, and when they had taken possession of him, and killed most of the inmates, including the guards, they set fire to the building, which was completely destroyed. The Emperor Nijo (1159–1165) was guarded in the Palace of Kurodo, Michinori's house was burnt and his concubines massacred. Michinori,

after warning the Emperor, rode away from the scene of destruction and reached Nara. For a day or two he hid in a cavern, but his place of retreat was discovered and his head was stuck up in a prominent position at Kyoto.

Nobuyori made himself Chancellor and Commander-in-Chief and Yoshitomo was appointed Governor of Harima. With the Emperor and ex-Emperor under control, their success seemed assured. They summoned a meeting of the chief officers. Fujiwara Mitsuyori, a lieutenant of Nobuyori, entered the Council Chamber in his ceremonial robes. When he saw that Nobuyori occupied the chief seat and that all those present were not in their usual places, he inquired how it was that the proper order of the Court had not been observed. Without waiting for a reply he sat down above the astonished and quailing Nobuyori. Once more he asked the same question, and once more there was silence in the Council Chamber. "Thereupon Mitsuyori threw back his dress, and standing upright turned to his younger brother Korekata and angrily asked him why he had joined the rebels, and assured him that swift punishment would overtake all concerned in the wretched business. Then with a few more blunt and bitter words he passed out, none daring to stay him or to raise a hand against him."

In the meantime Kiyomori, while on his way to Kumano, became aware of the success of Yoshitomo and Nobuyori. With a few Taira followers he hastened back to the capital, where they were joined by a considerable force. Korekata had taken to heart the dramatic words of reproach he had heard from his elder brother in the Council Chamber, and was responsible for the escape of the Emperor, who entered the Taira stronghold disguised as a maid of honour waiting upon the Empress, and almost at the same time the ex-Emperor fled.

Nobuyori was in his cups at the time of the ex-Emperor's

escape, and was very far from being in a condition to appreciate the gravity of the approach of the Taira. When he did realise that his days as rebel were numbered he became panic-stricken. Yoshitomo, however, did not lose his head and made a brave stand against the Taira attack. When the Taira feigned flight, Yoshitomo's men rushed through the gate in hot pursuit. The Taira suddenly turned, outmatched the pursuers, who were taken by surprise, and took possession of the Palace. Yoshitomo fled, and on reaching Owari he took shelter in the house of Tadamune. It was an unfortunate choice, for Tadamune caused three swordsmen to be concealed in the bathroom, and at a moment when Yoshitomo was unprotected by the faithful Konno, they slew him. Fujiwara Nobuyori, who had been the principal cause of the conflict, was an arrant coward. He made no attempt to join the retreating Minamoto, but weeping profusely went to the ex-Emperor and begged to be pardoned for his offence. Shirakawa II. communicated Nobuyori's confession to the Emperor and begged that he would show mercy to him. But the Emperor, perhaps fearing the power of Kiyomori, did not reply, and in the meantime the Taira removed Nobuyori to the Rokuhara. Once again the abject penitent begged for mercy, but mercy was not among Kiyomori's virtues, and he "promptly consigned him to richly merited doom."

Kiyomori had been rewarded for his services in 1160 by being promoted to the first grade of the third rank. With the death of Yoshitomo and Nobuyori, and with the favour of the Emperor and ex-Emperor, he wisely considered his position secure. Tomonaga, the son of Yoshitomo, had received a severe wound in battle, and at his request his father had put an end to his misery by killing him. There were, however, two other sons of Yoshitomo still living, namely, Yoshihira and the famous Yoritomo, who, when only thirteen years of age, had fought with all the prowess of a

seasoned veteran. Both these sons, on the death of their father, met with a series of adventures scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of Japanese history. On one occasion Yoritomo, wearied with fighting, fell asleep on his horse. While deep in slumber he was surrounded by peasants who attempted to capture him. Yoritomo awoke, and, realising his danger, put to flight his adversaries with the " Bread-cutter " sword which his father had given him. His brother Yoshihira was less fortunate, for after escaping from three hundred Taira at an inn at Kyoto, he was captured by the enemy on his way to the Eastern provinces, brought before Kiyomori and slain in the dry bed of the River Kamo in his twentieth year.

Yoritomo in the meantime led the life of a wandering fugitive. While disguised as a girl, with his sword concealed in matting, he was recognised by Taira Munekiyo and taken captive to Kyoto. Yoritomo was informed that he would meet his death in the River Kamo, a river-bed associated with scenes of execution. In the meantime, however, Munekiyo, who guarded his prisoner, was moved by the youth's presence of mind, and on asking him if he would like to live, the boy informed his captor that he alone was left to pray for the happiness of his father and brothers in the next world. Filial piety is one of the most dominant characteristics of the Japanese, and Yoritomo's words were not lost upon the sympathetic Munekiyo. He took the boy to Kiyomori's stepmother, the Lady Ike no Gozen. Now the Lady Ike no Gozen had lost her son Uma, and Munekiyo reminded her that Yoritomo and Uma were very much alike. She had been devoted to Uma, and was so touched by the words of Munekiyo that she hastened to Kiyomori, and begged that Yoritomo's life might be spared. Kiyomori granted her request in spite of his counsellors, who were most anxious to see the Minamoto brood wiped out. Yoritomo was sent to Izu, where he was strictly guarded by members of the Taira

carefully chosen for that purpose. Well was it said that Kiyomori, moved by the tears and pleadings of a woman, was " letting a tiger loose in the fields."

In spite of the clemency shown by Kiyomori towards Yoritomo many of the Taira, less susceptible than their master, were resolved to leave no stone unturned in their determination to wipe out the children of Yoshitomo.

The beautiful Tokiwa was the mistress of Yoshitomo, and she bore him three sons. When her lover was killed, and at a time when snow lay upon the ground, she fled at night with her offspring, one upon her back, the other two toddling along as best they might, holding firmly to her skirts. This pathetic scene is beloved of Japanese artists, and many are the pictures portraying the flight of Tokiwa with her little children. They were befriended by a Minamoto fugitive who gave them shelter in a secluded village. The Taira, unable to discover the whereabouts of Tokiwa and her children, made it publicly known that unless she surrendered they would slay her mother. This cruel threat reached Tokiwa's ears, and after a bitter struggle she went to Kyoto with her children and yielded herself to the all-powerful Kiyomori. Kiyomori was impressed by her beauty: indeed, a love of women had always been his weakness. That Tokiwa had once been Yoshitomo's mistress made no difference to his infatuation. Wooing in secret and wooing more openly brought nothing but a stern refusal from Tokiwa. Having found that gentle methods were useless he threatened to kill her mother and children if she did not yield. This brutal threat, together with the persuasion of her weeping mother, aroused filial piety in the breast of the self-sacrificing Tokiwa. She became the mistress of Kiyomori, and ten years later married another man. Her sons entered the priesthood and vowed themselves to celibacy.

Kiyomori, from being a mere military *parvenu*, had now

reached the height of his power and had gained a position equal to, if not greater than, the most prominent of the Fujiwaras. He rose to the Chancellorship of the Empire, but he resigned this office in three months, and for so doing he was rewarded by the baby Emperor with immense tracts of land in the provinces of Harima, Hizen, and Higo. This gift did not mark the beginning of feudalism in Japan, but it was nevertheless an important step in that direction. When in 1180 the Emperor Takakura abdicated in favour of the Lady Toku's two-year-old son, who became the Emperor Antoku (1180–1185), Kiyomori found himself grandfather of the reigning Emperor. Twenty years before Kiyomori attained his exalted position his mansion at Fukuwara, where Kobe now stands, was a modest abode, but at the height of his power it became a magnificent palace. Here he employed three hundred pages, whose duty it was to act as a kind of information bureau, and in addition he had a secret service that kept him in touch with many of the intrigues at that time.

Minamoto Yorimasa joined the Taira in 1160. It was an act of desertion, but it had won Kiyomori's favour and he had received promotion from him. In course of time, however, Yorimasa grew dissatisfied. The Minamoto blood in his veins began to assert itself, and he resolved to raise an army and crush the now powerful Taira. Prince Mochihito, in conjunction with Yorimasa, had entered the priesthood, and the three Great Monasteries promised to support him. But in the meantime Kiyomori's secret service was by no means a dead letter, and a spy brought word that an intrigue, in which Prince Mochihito was involved, had been discovered in the capital. Kiyomori placed himself at the head of a great army. Prince Mochihito was captured, his rank was taken from him, and he was made a Minamoto. He eventually escaped and hid in the monastery of Miidera, where the priests

strongly defended him. Kiyomori's spies had not done their work very exhaustively, for their master was unaware that Yorimasa was in the plot. Indeed, he was so completely ignorant on this point that he made Yorimasa the chief commander of the forces attacking the Miidera monastery. Yorimasa, however, made good use of Kiyomori's ignorance and had no difficulty in getting into the monastery. Yorimasa, then seventy-five, actually contemplated firing the capital and in the confusion taking Kiyomori and other Taira chiefs prisoners. The priests, however, did not favour this daring scheme. They left the monastery with Prince Mochihito, intending to strengthen their position by joining forces with the priests of the Kofukuji at Nara. Yorimasa and his men were successful in crossing the Uji river before the approach of the Taira hosts. It happened to be a foggy day, and Yorimasa ordered most of the planking of the bridge to be cut down. The result was that a little later, on the approach of the Taira van, two hundred horsemen, thinking the bridge intact, fell into the river. After a fierce encounter Yorimasa and Prince Mochihito attempted to escape, but Yorimasa was struck by an arrow. The old warrior sat down on his iron fan, composed his death-song, and disembowelled himself. Nothing had been gained by Yorimasa in his attempt to overthrow the Taira and make the Minamoto all-powerful. The priests who had joined paid a bitter penalty for allegiance to his cause. Many of them were slain, the great Miidera was burnt, and also Kofukuji and Todaiji at Nara.

Buddhism had received a severe blow at the hands of Kiyomori, and swift vengeance was meted out to the city of Kyoto. A great fire broke out in 1177, and it was fanned by a terrible typhoon. Nearly one-third of the houses in the capital were destroyed, and thousands of the inhabitants perished in the flames. Chomei, the twelfth-century Japanese recluse, has vividly described afflicted Kyoto at that time.

Mimamoto Yorimasa.

From a woodcut by Gakutei in the Morrison Collection, British Museum.

In 1180 fire and tornado were followed by a hurricane described as "a true hell-blast." But more horror was in store for the unfortunate city. A year later there was a famine, succeeded by a plague, and the final catastrophe took place in 1185 when a great earthquake occurred. Chomei[1] thus vividly describes the scene: "Hills were shattered and dammed up the rivers, the sea toppled over and flooded the shore-lands, the earth gaped and water roared up through the rents, cliffs were cleft and the fragments rolled down into the valleys, boats sculled along the beach were tossed inland upon the bore, horses on the roads lost the ground beneath their hoofs." Small wonder that the ascetic Chomei left this torn and bruised city, sought favour from no Taira, Minamoto, or Fujiwara, and took up his abode in a little hut on the mountain-side where he ended his days.

In 1181 Kiyomori died. With all his faults he had been the most brilliant of the Taira, for it was through him that the great family rose to eminence. His last words were: "He that is born must necessarily die and not I alone. Since the period of Heiji [1159] I have served the Imperial House. I have ruled under Heaven absolutely. I have attained the highest rank possible to a subject. I am the grandfather of the Emperor on his mother's side. Is there still a regret? My regret is only that I am dying, and have not yet seen the head of Minamoto Yoritomo. After I die do not perform Buddhist rites for me; do not read the liturgies for me; but simply cut off Yoritomo's head, and hang it before my tomb. Let all my offspring and retainers obey my words, and not dare to neglect them." He realised at the last his weakness in yielding to the pleadings of the Lady Ike no Gozen and the fair Tokiwa. It proved to be a mistake that was destined to bring about the fall of the great House of Taira.

[1] *Ho-jo-ki* ("Notes from a Ten Feet Square Hut"). Trans. by F. V. Dickins.

CHAPTER VIII

TWO FAMOUS WARRIORS

At Shingu, in the Province of Kii, there once stood on a high rock the Shinto temple of Kami-no-kura. To-day little remains but the site and the grave of that great Chinese adventurer, Shin-no-Jofuku, who came to Japan in search of the elusive Elixir of Life. The inhabitants still celebrate an ancient and very extraordinary festival. On a certain night old and young alike race up the steps leading to the temple site with lighted torches. Reaching the top of the rock they are packed into an enclosure by other holiday makers. When the gate of their mock prison is open they rush down the incline at a tremendous pace, and in feudal times the first to reach the bottom received a bag of rice by way of reward. Shingu and its environs are of special interest, not on account of the survival of an ancient custom, or because it contains the dust of a Chinese dreamer, but because Funada ferry, just above Shingu, was the birthplace of the famous warrior, Benkei, the faithful henchman of the even more illustrious Yoshitsune.

O Haya, the daughter of Jinsaku, went every night to the Temple of Kami-no-kura and prayed to Kwannon, the Goddess of Mercy, for a male child. At length, after much fasting and prayer, one of the gigantic and hideous Ni-o guarding the temple gate granted her request by thrusting his mace down her throat.

After two years had elapsed O Haya gave birth to a son.

When the child was born it was found that he had cut his teeth and had long hair that reached down to his shoulders. Like Kintaro he was a wonder child. As he was born on the anniversary of the birthday of the Lord Buddha he was called Shinbutsu-maru, or "God-Buddha-child." Jinsaku, who was a smith, soon wearied of his grandchild's mischievous pranks and idle ways, and decided that the boy should assist him in his work. Jinsaku bade Shinbutsu beat out bars of metal that had been taken from the furnace. The boy brought down the hammer with such force that the anvil was buried deeply in the ground. Jinsaku, angry with the boy for his wanton behaviour, told him to bring in firewood. Here again he purposely failed to carry out his instructions in a proper way and brought to the modest house a great pine tree. Fortunately Jinsaku was spared further trouble at the hands of his unruly grandchild, for the smith died when the boy was ten years old.

At length Shinbutsu asked his mother a very awkward question—"Who is my father?" "One of the Ni-o," she replied, preferring this priestly story to making known the truth that in reality his father was Bensho Tomotoki, who had seduced her at the temple.

Shinbutsu went to the Ni-o and questioned these two figures as to which was his father. He received no reply. Priests, well-acquainted with the story, had no wish to enlighten the boy and get themselves into trouble, for Bensho held an influential position. The priests, therefore, hearing Shinbutsu's loud voice told him that if he removed a huge boulder perched on the mountain-side, and for long a danger to those beneath it, he should be rewarded with a liberal supply of food. The offer had been made in jest, but when Shinbutsu had attached a bell-rope to the rock and threatened to cast it down into the main hall of the temple, the priests grew afraid and realised that they must not offend so stalwart

a youth, and moreover, that they must keep to their bargain. Shinbutsu flung the rock high into the air, and it lodged between the trunks of two great cedars, where it is pointed out to-day as the *Benkei no nage-iwa* or the "rock thrown by Benkei."

Shinbutsu's appetite proved to be equal to his enormous strength, and, having thrown the commissariat of the temple into confusion, it was necessary to call in Kizaemon to regulate the boy's fare as well as to discipline so stormy a youth. Later on, in order that Shinbutsu might be under still better control, he was sent to the great temple of Hongu Daijin and placed under the spiritual guidance of Nittai. Here he made such good progress that his master, highly pleased and wishing to encourage the youth, permitted his mother O Haya to live near the temple where she could be in close touch with her son.

One day O Haya went out in search of food, and as at nightfall she did not return, Shinbutsu, anxious as to her whereabouts, set out to find her. On reaching a pool he saw an enormous carp, and, fearing the worst, he plunged into the water and wrestled with the great fish. With a tremendous effort he was able at last to fling the carp on the bank. In cutting the fish to pieces Shinbutsu discovered the garments of his unfortunate mother. The carp and all that remained of poor O Haya were buried behind the Wanibuchi shrines, and the spot is known to-day as the *koi-tsuku*, or the "carp's tomb."

Shinbutsu's bereavement had a bad effect. He threw off monastic restraint, left the Hongu Temple, and reached the house of Jirozaemon, whose daughter O Kin had been promised to him in marriage. Shinbutsu was not very favourably received either by Jirozaemon or his daughter. He was politely dispatched to a famous temple on Hiei-zan, and plunged into the very centre of Minamoto influence.

Jirozaemon, shrinking from so unruly a son-in-law, sought a way out of the difficulty by commending Shinbutsu to his friend Doi Hachiyemon's pretty daughter, Tamamushi (" Jewel Beetle ").

One day Shinbutsu was sent with a message to Rokuhara, the Office of Administration in Kyoto. At nightfall he returned, and having reached the pass separating Lake Biwa and Hiei-zan from the Kyoto plain he lay down and fell asleep. He was soon awakened by the piteous cry of a woman and the wrangling of a number of angry men. The noise proceeded from a wayside shrine, and on peeping in Shinbutsu, now in the *rôle* of knight-errant, saw a beautiful woman being set upon by a number of bandits who sought her undoing and refused to accept a gold ornament in exchange for her liberty and maidenhood. Hastily uprooting a sapling, Shinbutsu rushed upon the girl's adversaries and belaboured them so severely with his improvised weapon that, mistaking this giant for Hachiman, they beat a hasty retreat.

When Shinbutsu was alone with the girl a heavy storm descended. They fell in love with each other, and, in polite Japanese language, " exchanged pillows." In the morning the lovers observed a number of servants sent out to search for the missing girl. Shinbutsu, for the first time in his life suffered from embarrassment, and was unable to face the search party. The girl, giving him a gold ornament as a keepsake, bade him remain in hiding while she dispelled the fears of those who had been sent by her father to bring her home. She gave these simple folk a graphic account of the bandits, and substituted for her lover the timely service of the mountain god. When Tamamushi had left the shrine, Shinbutsu proceeded on his way to the temple, not a little grieved to think that he had fallen from the high estate of a good priest.

Tamamushi had no such qualms. Night and day she

thought of her valiant and self-sacrificing lover until she fell into a decline. At length her parents became aware of her condition, and the cause of it, though they failed to extract the name of their daughter's lover. At length Hachiyemon, his wife, and the erring Tamamushi went to the temple on Hiei-zan. A painful tragedy was the result of this visit, for Tamamushi on seeing that her lover was a priest committed suicide.

Shinbutsu grew weary of the Wheel of the Law. It was the fierce promptings of the warrior rather than the gentle meditations of the priest that now became the dominant force in his life. His great frame demanded action and not inaction. He had already taken the Minamoto cause to heart, and was anxious at this time to go adventuring with the ultimate object of finding a great Minamoto leader worthy of his service.

He accordingly left the temple and wandered about Hiei-zan in search of suitable apparel and a sheltered dwelling-place. At length he reached a spot where the monk-robber Musashi-bo had once lived. The half-ruined shrine was sufficient to afford a shelter at night, and as it was situated near Kyoto he could go to the great city and beg alms of the people, for at heart a warrior he still proposed to adopt the outward semblance of a priest as affording an easy method of providing sustenance. In this place he took up his abode. It was here that he gave himself the name of Saito Musashi-bo Benkei. He arrived at this rather formidable name in the following way. "Saito" was the place of his religious education, "Musashi-bo" the monk to whom we have already referred, while "Benkei" was made up of the first syllable of his father Bensho and the last syllable of his spiritual master Kankei. Henceforth we shall refer to our hero as Benkei.

Benkei did not remain long in this deserted shrine. Having obtained two priestly robes, and had them stitched

together, he moved on to a hamlet on the edge of Ohara Moor, about nine miles from Kyoto, now a prosperous village, but in Benkei's time boasting only of half a dozen huts. In one of these huts Benkei established himself. He had found the collecting of alms a dull but necessary business, and it was not long before he crossed the Sanjo Bridge at Kyoto and entered the forge of Kokaji Munenobu the swordsmith, descendant of the famous Kokaji Munechika of the tenth century, who, under the patronage of the Rice Goddess, could test his swords by breaking rocks asunder without injury to the blades.

Benkei at once told the swordsmith that he wanted a sword six feet and a half in length, and also a halberd of a size suitable for a giant who was nearly eight feet in height. As Benkei offered to pay no money in advance for the simple reason that he had none, Munenobu was at first unwilling to fashion such costly weapons. Benkei, however, frightened the swordsmith so effectively that he promised to have the sword and halberd ready within a hundred days, when he could justly demand full payment.

Near the Gojo Bridge lived Saburo-bei the armourer, and to his forge Benkei repaired. The armourer, hearing that his patron had favoured Munenobu with an order, was only too glad to make armour of such unusual size, and Benkei was particular in giving instructions how the unadorned metal was to be made.

As Benkei had every intention of paying the swordsmith and armourer, it was necessary for him to devise some means of raising the money. Near Kyoto, and not far from Fushimi, lived Watanabe Genba, who was now the husband of O Kin. He was a wealthy man and lived in an imposing mansion, and to this house the resourceful Benkei went. He informed Genba that he was about to start on a sacred mission and that he required funds for that purpose. Genba, not re-

markable for his generosity, regarded his visitor with scant favour but not a little alarm. He left the apartment and presently returned with an offering on a *sambon* (tray). The very meagre offering consisted of twenty *sen* (about five shillings) and a *go* of rice (about a gill). Benkei controlled his anger and began to sing and dance before the astonished Genba. The song was boisterous, but the dancing of Benkei's huge feet was like the first tremor of an earthquake. The house shook, and the screens rattled as if rice had been thrown against them. Genba, thinking that he had a maniac in the house, seized a weapon in the hope of putting an end to Benkei's dance and song. But Benkei was fully prepared for the attack, and encircling his huge arm round Genba's waist, he made that poor man dance to the rhythm of his song. Benkei evidently saw the humour of the situation, for he suddenly left off singing, and in his most priestly manner spoke of the uncertainty of life and the very icy wind of death!

While Benkei was whimsically sermonising O Kin had the good sense to enter the apartment, accompanied by her maid bearing a tray loaded with silk and gold dust. She very tactfully asked Benkei to forgive her delay in executing her master's order to bring gifts for his mission. Having thrown Genba through more than one screen, our hero concealed the gold and silk about his person and left the mansion.

The gift of silk and gold dust, valuable as it was, was not sufficient to pay for the costly sword, halberd, and armour Benkei had ordered. When he called upon the armourer he deposited half his silk and gold and eagerly put on the armour, its black lacquered surface unadorned with gay designs beloved by the fashionable knights of Kyoto. Benkei paced up and down outside the forge, Saburo-bei watching him the while with much misgiving. Benkei had no sooner asked if he could run in the armour than the warrior raced down the

Benkei wielding Halberd against Yoshitsune in the famous Fight on Gojo Bridge.

From a woodcut by Katsukawa Shunsho in the Morrison Collection, British Museum.

street and over the Gojo Bridge at a tremendous pace. With Munenobu he was equally successful. Having left him the remainder of his silk and a link of gold he brandished his newly-acquired weapons with such demoniacal glee that neither the frightened swordsmith or his assistants dared restrain him when the giant swashbuckler quietly walked out of the forge.

Benkei, who had rescued a maiden from bandits, was not the type of man to allow the swordsmith and armourer to suffer. He was fully resolved to pay them in full when a suitable opportunity occurred. Hiding his weapons and armour in his little hut at Ohara he visited various holy places with the idea, no doubt, of evading the Rokuhara officials who would be speedily informed of his doings at Kyoto. Having travelled from Kawajiri to Suma he crossed to the famous Island of Awaji, the first geographical offspring of Izanagi and Izanami, and therefore, from a mythical point of view, the commencement of the Japanese archipelago. He returned to Harima, and the weather being hot, he took up his abode in a temple on Shoshasan, a centre of Taira family worship, and here he remained until the autumn. Assured that the Rokuhara officials had forgotten his escapades, he prepared to leave the temple, but wished to bid farewell to the high priest before going. Unwilling to disturb festivities that were going on in honour of the new rank attained by Taira Kiyomori, he sat down near the temple, prepared to await a more convenient season in which to bid farewell. Benkei soon fell asleep and snored so loudly that some priests came out to discover the origin of the noise. Kaiyen, one of the priests, anxious to make Benkei a laughing-stock, painted on his right cheek *geta* (clogs).

Benkei, unaware of the trick played upon him, presently awoke and entered the dining-hall to take his formal leave. As he did so loud laughter rose from those assembled. He

angrily demanded to know the cause of their merriment. He was told that the priests were laughing at a sermon jest, and with this explanation, or rather subterfuge, Benkei departed. Chancing, however, to see his face reflected in water, he fully realised the cause of the priests' hilarity.

Now wild with anger he returned to the dining-hall where he encountered Kaiyen, who, believing that he had ample support in his companions, abused Benkei hotly as a rude fellow who had annoyed them all. He told Benkei that he had painted words on his cheeks by way of imparting a salutary lesson. Benkei paid no heed to the priests who rushed upon him. He gave his attention to Kaiyen, and pursued him into the *kuri* (kitchen). Kaiyen, now thoroughly alarmed, seized a burning log and attempted to use it as a weapon. Benkei took him in his great arms and threw him and his burning brand on the roof of the temple. The giant then took his departure, and on looking back saw that the great temple was on fire. When he stood near the Palace at Kyoto, but in a spot where he could not be seen, his wonderful silvery voice floated through the air announcing the destruction of the Enkyoji Shoshasan. And having uttered the news three times he returned to Ohara, knowing full well that Court diviners would regard his voice as a message from a *tengu*.[1]

One night, while Benkei was wandering near Ohara, rain fell so heavily that he sought shelter in a temple building. In the morning he was surprised to hear Onikuro, the famous bandit, loudly rating his men. Benkei, concealing his face and stooping, approached the band. Feigning great fear he told the leader that Watanabe Genba was exceedingly rich and advised him to make a raid upon his mansion. Onikuro, not suspecting treachery, was delighted with the

[1] The *tengu* were goblins with wings and long noses. They frequented mountains and woodlands, and indulged in all manner of pranks.

idea, and arranged that he and his men should make the attack on the following night.

In the meantime the giant first made Genba acquainted with what was in store for him, and Genba, to do him justice, was not slow to appreciate the value of Benkei's information, even if it should have its equivalent in gold as was most likely. Bidding Genba and his men and women retire, Benkei sat down in a small room containing the household shrine. When the bandits arrived they were surprised to see a huge priest complacently praying for their souls, murmuring from time to time: "*Namu, Amida Butsu!*" ("Hail, Omnipotent Buddha!"), and making references to thieves who had ignored the Lotus of the Law. This quiet but dramatic scene had its effect upon the bandits, and some of the robbers expressed their fear. Onikuro, however, advanced upon Benkei, assured that he would make easy work of a babbling priest. But the leader of the band was mistaken. Benkei raised his halberd and swept the apartment of all the bandits. When he had done so Genba approached, and showed his appreciation of the service rendered by bidding O Kin lead forth her maids, who carried on trays a rich treasure of gold and silver. With this lavish gift Benkei departed and rested in his little hut at Ohara.

Having paid for his armour and weapons he observed that the latter were badly in need of repair, and, moreover, he was anxious to purchase a new sword and halberd. The swordsmith explained that he had not the necessary material, and pointed out that it would require one thousand swords to make a weapon worthy of the mighty arm of his patron. Benkei readily consented to collect this number of swords, and to do so by attacking faint-hearted Taira knights.

We need not describe in detail Benkei's success. The knights he encountered either yielded their swords without a struggle, or else put up a feeble resistance, flung their

swords away, and ran briskly to their homes. In this manner he collected nine hundred and ninety-nine blades, and his failure to obtain the one thousandth will be told in the story of Yoshitsune.

Yoshitsune, the son of Yoshitomo by his concubine Tokiwa, was living at that time in a monastery on Kurama-yama, only a short distance from Ohara, where Benkei had his modest hut. The boy showed little aptitude as far as his religious duties were concerned. If he neglected the Buddhist Scriptures, he pored diligently over books devoted to military tactics. He was probably conversant with the famous *Rikuto Sanryaku*, an authoritative work on military matters. Such books as these he mastered with a joy not unlike that of a famous Chinese scholar whose only light at night for reading was that reflected by the snow on the roof. On account of his great strength he was appropriately called Ushiwaka ("The Young Bull"). He was familiar with the doings of his ancestors and eager to suppress the tyrannical power of the Taira, with Kiyomori at their head. With this object in view he paid a visit to the Kibune shrine hidden away in a mountain recess. Here he knelt and besought the god to instruct him in the art of war. In order to ascertain whether his prayer had been answered or not he struck a mighty stone with his sword, and discovered that when the rock had been shorn asunder the weapon was uninjured. Thus encouraged he cut down trees as if they had been blades of grass, and every night he came to the valley to practise the military arts.

One night he was astonished to discover the King of the Tengu closely watching his movements. This creature told the boy that he was an enemy of the Taira and would gladly teach him all he knew in the art of fencing. Yoshitsune accepted the offer, and the instruction lasted for one hundred nights. At the end of that time Yoshitsune "could jump

over a vale and up a high cliff just as if he were a butterfly flitting up and down in a garden. By throwing his sword he could kill a bird on the wing. With a stone he could kill a beast running for its life, and he never missed his mark. Moreover, he understood all the secrets and laws of movement and transformation." The King of the Tengu was delighted with the progress the boy had made. As a warm supporter of the Minamoto clan he was assured that Yoshitsune would one day restore the lost glory of the Genji.

At last Yoshitsune escaped from the mountain, accompanied by Kitsuji and his brother Kichiroku. The boy rode upon a white stallion, " on whose back was a handsome saddle lacquered in gold dust distributed in a pattern starred something like the clear night sky of summer." After numerous adventures and at least two love affairs with Joruri-hime and Katsura-hime he reached the Province of Mutsu, inhabited by wild aborigines and too remote to be under the strict surveillance of Kiyomori.

Many are the stories told of Yoshitsune's daring. He had heard of Benkei's escapades. He was aware that that giant priest had lawlessly obtained nine hundred and ninety-nine swords, and was determined to slay so troublesome and dangerous a fellow. He accordingly sauntered over the Bridge of Gojo one moonlight night, dreamily playing his flute, and elaborately dressed in a Court robe with a handsome sword in his girdle. Benkei, who had long waited for his prey, saw the youth and was not slow to perceive the fine weapon he wore. At first the warrior-priest was deeply moved by the sweetness of the music, but remembering his task he strode forward and insolently commanded Yoshitsune to give up his sword. The reply was a laugh and a challenge. Benkei, amazed that a mere youth should offer resistance, drew his long sword and thrust the weapon towards Yoshitsune. But Benkei's adversary was now in front of him, now behind, now standing

on the rail of the bridge. Benkei growled with rage and redoubled his efforts. But at length he grew weary, and Yoshitsune knocked the sword out of the giant's hand. Benkei stooped to pick up his weapon, and in so doing stumbled. In a moment Yoshitsune sprang upon his back and dealt him a heavy blow with his war fan. A Japanese writer tells us that "Benkei wept with sorrow. His cry sounded like the whining of a wild animal. His tears dropped like shot." The hitherto unconquerable Benkei had been beaten at last by one whom he considered to be a Taira youth, and it was the thought that he had been bitterly humiliated by a member of the hated house of Kiyomori that so deeply wounded his pride. When Benkei was told that his adversary was none other than Yoshitsune, son of Yoshitomo, he greatly rejoiced. He recognised in this courageous youth the master he had long desired, while Yoshitsune was generous in his appreciation of one who was a great warrior. From that moment a compact was made between them that Yoshitsune should lead and Benkei follow in the Minamoto cause. It was an ideal union that lasted until death. There is little to choose between them. The tales of both are cherished with equal reverence in Japan to-day—brave, loyal, tender, they have left enduring names in the annals of Japanese history.

CHAPTER IX

THE WARS OF THE GEM-PEI

In 1160, when the Minamoto suffered a severe reverse, it will be remembered that Kiyomori, listening to feminine entreaty, had very reluctantly spared the life of Yoritomo, the third son of Yoshitomo, and banished the youth to Izu under the guardianship of Hojo Tokimasa. Tokimasa was not a little impressed with Yoritomo's abilities. The youth fell in love with Masago, one of his guardian's daughters. She had been, however, promised in marriage to the Governor of Izu, Taira Kanetaka, and for fear of giving offence Tokimasa, though by no means displeased with his ward's clandestine love affair, felt himself bound to fulfil his promise. On the night of the wedding, thanks to a favouring storm, Yoritomo carried off the bride and sought seclusion in the mountains. A year later Masago gave birth to a son, and Yoritomo, having killed Kanetaka and burnt his house, publicly celebrated the nuptials. Tokimasa threw off his allegiance to the Taira and warmly supported Yoritomo in his attempt to re-establish the fortune of the Minamoto House.

At this time Taira Tomochika, a relative of Kanetaka, was harrying the country. Yoritomo forged an order from Prince Mochihito to punish him. He tied the document to his standard, and with three hundred men crossed the Hakone pass and took up a position on Ishibashi-yama (Stone Bridge Hill). It was a tempestuous night, and Yoritomo and his little band were confronted by a force of three thousand men

led by Oba Kagechika, in addition to a small contingent that came from Izu and fell upon the Minamoto in the rear. In the midst of a great tempest Yoritomo and his men fought desperately and were able to hold their own until dawn. But the overwhelming number of the enemy told at last, and Yoritomo was compelled to flee. While Yoritomo and one of his men were concealed in a hollow tree a Taira thrust his bow into the cavity. In answer to Yoritomo's prayer to Hachiman two wood-pigeons flew from the hollow trunk, thus convincing the Taira soldiers that no one could be in hiding under such circumstances. In consequence of this deliverance the Minamoto regard the pigeon as sacred and refrain from using it as food.

Yoritomo in his flight met with many adventures, and more than once was nearly captured by the enemy. At length he reached a recess in the Hakone range, and finally succeeded in reaching Awa. Here many of the Minamoto joined the white standard, and with a strong force he was able to advance. When Yoritomo reached Shimosa he was in command of ten thousand men, and many who had hitherto been waverers flocked to the white flag. Still recruits continued to pour in, eager to crush the tyranny of the Taira, and by the time Yoritomo had reached Kamakura he had an army of two hundred thousand men.

Kiyomori had been told that Yoritomo had been killed in the battle of Ishibashi-yama. When he heard that the report was false, that the head of the Minamoto was at Kamakura with a great army, he promptly dispatched a strong force under the command of Tadamori and Koremori.

The Kamakura troops crossed the Ashigara pass and encamped on the left bank of the River Fuji. On the opposite bank the still greater army of the Taira was assembled under the red flag of their house. Owing to heavy rain the river could not be crossed from either side, that is in the

Yoshitsune, at the Battle of Ujigawa, advancing against Yoshinaka fleeing over Uji Bridge.

From a woodcut by Katoukawa Shunsho in the Morrison Collection, British Museum.

immediate vicinity of the assembled armies. One of the Minamoto commanders, by making a detour over the hills, succeeded, together with his men, in effecting a crossing over the river where it was narrower and the water less turbulent. While passing through marshland countless birds suddenly rose into the air with loud cries. The Taira hosts, attributing the noise to the sudden appearance of the whole Minamoto army, made a hasty retreat. "When day dawned," writes Mr Murdoch, "not a single red pennon was to be seen beside the Fuji stream." Yoritomo was anxious to pursue the enemy and advance upon Kyoto, but fortunately he accepted the advice of his officers and withdrew his army to Kamakura, a city destined to rival Kyoto itself under the control of this great soldier and still more famous statesman.

Yoshitsune had heard, in the distant Province of Mutsu, that his half-brother Yoritomo had successfully revived the fortunes of the Minamoto House. Accompanied by his faithful henchman, Benkei, and a few other followers, they met the Minamoto army near Numadzu on its return march to Kamakura. The brothers, who had suffered so much at the hands of Kiyomori, wept when they met each other. Yoritomo welcomed Yoshitsune to the white standard, "as if the great father of both had risen from the dead."

Yoritomo should have learnt a lesson from the dissensions among the Taira and avoided family differences as far as the Minamoto were concerned. But his moral weaknesses were "jealousy, envy, suspicion, and cold-heartedness." His ambition was such that he regarded with distrust, even with hatred, the conspicuous success of others fighting for the white banner in the Gem-Pei Wars. His cousin, Yoshinaka, had won military distinction in Shinano and Kotsuke. He was recognised as a dangerous rival, and steps were taken to kill him. Yoshinaka, however, was a loyal Minamoto, and having wisely pointed out the folly of a petty quarrel when

much more important issues were at stake, Yoritomo had the wisdom to recall his troops and a friendly feeling was still further established by the marriage of his daughter to Yoshitaka, son of Yoshinaka. Later, however, Yoshinaka awakened the old animosity, and his head was exposed in the capital.

In the meantime the Taira cause was prospering. A powerful army was established at Fukuwara and was making preparations to advance upon the capital. The great camp extended seven miles "along what is now the course of the Sanyo Railway, while its east front extended as far as, and rested upon the Ikuta wood, through which from the hills to the sea a strong line of fortifications had been hastily thrown. On the west, at Ichi-no-tani (West Suma), a huge earthwork faced with stone crowned with wooden towers ran across the low ground down to below low-water mark. A great fleet of war-junks and transports, anchored close in shore, kept command of the sea." [1]

Shortly after the death of Yoshinaka the cloistered Emperor dispatched the Kamakura army against the Taira, and the Minamoto force was led by Noriyori and Yoshitsune. While Noriyori led his men along the Harima road, Yoshitsune and Benkei advanced into Tamba with a view to attacking the Taira entrenchments on the west. Two days later the Minamoto armies were established at Ikuta and Suma, prepared for a simultaneous assault upon the enemy. The Taira more than held their ground, and it was necessary for one of the Minamoto leaders to devise a plan whereby the enemy could be taken by surprise.

It was Yoshitsune, now about twenty-five years old, who devised a daring scheme of attack. The Taira leaders regarded the mountain in their rear as sufficient protection in that quarter. Not so Yoshitsune, who saw in this very

[1] *History of Japan*, by James Murdoch.

mountain the way to victory. Accompanied by Benkei and seventy horse-bowmen he climbed to the head of the pass, a pass that had been hitherto only associated with the nimble performances of monkeys and deer. From a narrow clearing on the edge of the Hiyodori pass could be seen the Suma Palace, Ichi-no-tani, and the assembled armies. "Red and white banners, waving in the wind, looked like cherry-blossom flying through the air. The war shouts raised on both sides by the combatants, the beating of the drums, echoed far and wide over mountain and sea."

Yoshitsune summoned Benkei, and bade him bring a white horse saddled for war and a brown horse untrammelled with harness. When Benkei had carried out his master's instructions the horses were allowed to run down the very steep slope. The brown horse, representing the Taira, fell and broke its leg, while the white horse, representing the Minamoto, reached the bottom in safety. This was regarded as a favourable omen. Yoshitsune, mounted on his favourite steed Tagukuro, rode to the edge of the precipice, and bidding his men follow, horse and rider rushed down the slope. They poured into the Ichi gorge "like an avalanche of boulders." Benkei seized a bundle of straw, set fire to it, and flung it upon the thatched huts of the Taira soldiers, while others followed his example. The enemy was now thrown into confusion, and amid fire and smoke began to give way. The weak and cowardly Munemori, son of Kiyomori, and the unworthy head of the Taira clan, escaped to Yashima, taking with him the Emperor Antoku and the Regalia, while the Taira host, wishing to avoid wholesale massacre, rushed madly to the boats, and in the stampede for the junks many were drowned.

There was an act of heroism and self-sacrifice on the Taira side that deserves to be recorded. While the Taira soldiers were flying in every direction, Noritsune, brave captain and

famous archer, stood on a sand-dune and kept the enemy at bay. Five Minamoto fell with every arrow that sped from his bow. By Noritsune's side stood his faithful retainer, Sanuki Rokuro, watching his master with considerable anxiety. Seeing that nearly all the Taira had fled he begged his lord to escape in order that so distinguished a captain might render service to his cause later on. Rokuro donned his chief's armour and helmet, giving his own in exchange. Then it was that Rokuro stood bravely forth telling the Minamoto that he was Noritsune, while the captain and real owner of the name was making good his escape.

After the battle of Ichi-no-tani, Yoshitsune remained in Kyoto. His conspicuous success had already awakened Yoritomo's easily fired jealousy. At length, unable to remain inactive any longer, Yoshitsune succeeded in landing at Amako with a small band of followers, and later they proceeded to Yashima, the headquarters of the Taira. Munemori as usual advocated retreat, and bade the panic-stricken Taira hosts make speedy use of their fleet.

The Taira possessed a fan bearing the sun's disc upon it. It had been given by a priest to the Emperor Antoku, who assured the boy that the disc was the spirit of his father, the Emperor Takakura, and so potent that it would make arrows recoil upon the enemy. Now in one of the war-junks of the Taira lay this particular fan. Tamamushi, a woman of great beauty, fixed it to a pole in the bow of the boat and tauntingly invited the Minamoto to fire upon it. Nasu no Yoichi Munetaka rode far out into the water, raised his bow and took careful aim. The arrow struck the rivet of the fan, which immediately fell down in fragments. The Taira regarded this incident as a bad omen and lost heart in their cause, while the Minamoto, on the other hand, looked forward to a complete and final victory in the near future.

The Taira fleet withdrew to Shido Bay; but the junks

had not been anchored long when Yoshitsune, having hastily embarked his men in thirty war-vessels fell upon them. Once again Munemori retired from danger, and taking the Emperor Antoku with him, fled down the Inland Sea and sought shelter in Hikoshima.

In the meantime the Minamoto were adding to their fleet. They had reason for doing so, for the Taira had long had experience in dealing with pirates and were in consequence accomplished seamen. The Minamoto, on the other hand, though far better horsemen than the Taira, were by no means good sailors for the simple reason that the Minamoto had hitherto always fought on land. But Yoshitsune was not the type of man to be overcome by difficulties He knew that the Minamoto were weak from a naval point of view, and he made it his business to convert his horse-bowmen into efficient sailors.

In April, 1185, Yoshitsune was prepared to destroy the Taira fleet which had taken up its position in the narrow Straits of Shimonoseki, which separate the Main Island from Kyushu. The five hundred war-junks of the Taira were encumbered with women and children, and on board the flag-ship were the Emperor Antoku, his mother, and Kiyomori's widow.

On April 22 the seven hundred Minamoto vessels were stationed off the Island of Oshima in Suwo. From here it was decided to dispatch Miura Yoshitzumi with several war-junks in advance of the main fleet, and he anchored his vessels about two miles from Dan-no-ura. When Tomomori was made aware of this manœuvre he formed a line of battle "just beyond the spot where the Straits begin to widen out into the Inland Sea." He made a stirring speech to his captains bidding the Taira fight as they had never fought before, and pointing out that they were now fighting for their very existence. Even while the Admiral spoke there was a

traitor in their midst, Taguchi Shigeyoshi. The Admiral was fully aware of Taguchi's treachery and begged Munemori to put him to death. Munemori, always indecisive, except when he had made up his mind to run away, failed to realise the importance of the Admiral's request, and Taguchi, no doubt with much pleasure, took his place in the fighting line.

By this time the whole of the Minamoto fleet had taken up its position at a short distance from the Taira vessels and clouds of arrows filled the air. The Taira were fierce and reckless in their attack. Their vessels drove back the enemy three or four times. In the opening hours of the battle the victory was on the side of the Taira. Shortly before noon, however, they received a check. Taguchi's vessels had not taken part in the fray, for Taguchi was waiting to see which way the wind blew, and until he made that discovery he remained neutral. Seeing, however, that the Taira had received a reverse he lowered his red flag, went over to the enemy, and actually came on board the flag-ship of the Minamoto !

During the great battle of Dan-no-ura, Yoshitsune and Noritsune, the famous Taira archer, met each other. As soon as Noritsune saw the distinguished leader of the enemy he tore off his helmet and the sleeves of his armour and attempted to wrestle with him. Yoshitsune sought shelter behind his men. Noritsune, however, kicked the defenders into the sea, and was about to rush upon his adversary, when Yoshitsune leaped into another boat and laughingly held his spear in the attitude of command. It was a jump of eighteen feet, and is still known as the famous *hasso-tobi* (leap over eight boats) of Yoshitsune.

The loss of Taguchi's squadron was a fatal blow to the Taira. Taguchi pointed out to Yoshitune the vessel that contained the Emperor Antoku, his Court, and the Regalia. In the meantime the Taira Admiral boarded the sacred vessel.

The sea was stained with blood and bodies floated on the waves like driftwood. About the Admiral women wept and asked what would become of them. There were tears of rage and shame in Tomomori's eyes because his brother, Munemori, head of the Taira House, had fallen into the hands of the enemy without having the courage to take his life rather than surrender. Tomomori was made of purer and stronger metal. Having calmly ordered the deck to be cleared of the dead and the blood washed away, he seized an anchor and flung himself into the sea.

With the capture of the flag-ship the Taira suffered a final defeat. Minamoto horse-bowmen stood on either side of the Straits and fired upon the enemy whenever they came within range. The proud Taira fleet was but a tattered remnant of its former glory. Many sailors clung to wreckage, while others attempted to reach the shore only to be cut down by the Minamoto cavalry. The great battle of Dan-no-ura was over, and with the coming of night the mighty Taira hosts had been exterminated with the exception of a few survivors who sought shelter in the mountain recesses.

After the battle of Dan-no-ura, the Emperor Antoku's nurse, realising that all was over, took the boy, who was then eight years old, in her arms and plunged into the sea. Both lost their lives. The scene is thus vividly and pathetically described in the *Heike Monogatari*:[1] " Niidono was long ago prepared for this [the defeat of the Hei or Taira party]. Throwing over her head her double garment of sombre hue, and tucking up high the side of her trousers of straw-coloured silk, she placed under her arm the Sacred Seal, and girt on her loins the Sacred Sword. Then taking the sovereign to her bosom, she said, ' Although a woman, I will not allow the

[1] Many stories from this work, the authorship of which is unknown, were recited by priests to the accompaniment of the *biwa*, a kind of four-stringed lute.

enemy to lay hands on me. I will accompany my sovereign. All ye who have regard for this intention make haste and follow.' So saying, she calmly placed her foot on the ship's side. The sovereign had this year reached the age of eight, but looked much older. His august countenance was so beautiful that it cast a lustre round about. His black locks hung loosely down below his back. With an astonished expression he inquired, 'Now, whither do you propose to take me, Amaze?'[1] Niidono turned her face to her child-lord, and with tears that fell *bara-bara*, 'Do you not know, my lord,' said she, 'that although, by virtue of your keeping the Ten Commandments in a previous state of existence, you have been born into this world as a ruler of ten thousand chariots, yet having become involved in an evil destiny, your good fortune is now at hand? Be pleased to turn first to the east, and bid adieu to the shrine of the Great God of Ise. Then turn to the west, and call upon the name of Buddha, solemnly committing yourself to the charge of those who will come to meet you from the Paradise of the Western Land. This world is the region of sorrow, a remote spot small as a grain of millet. But beneath the waves there is a fair city called the Pure Land of Perfect Happiness. Thither it is that I am taking you.' With such words she soothed him. The child then tied his top-knot to the Imperial robe of the colour of a mountain-dove and tearfully joined together his lovely little hands. First he turned to the east, and bade adieu to the shrine of the Great God of Ise and the shrine of Hachiman. Next he turned to the west, and called upon the name of Buddha. When he had done so, Niidono made bold to take him in her arms, and soothing him with the words, 'There is a city away below the waves,' sank down to the bottom one thousand fathoms deep. Alas, the pity of it!—the changeful winds of spring swiftly scattered the flowery august form. Alas, the pain of it!—the rude

[1] A title given to women who have taken Buddhist vows.

The Battle of Dan-no-ura.

From a *kakemono* in the Anderson Collection, British Museum.

billows of severance buried the jewel person. His palace had been called Chosei, to denote that it was established as his long abode; and the gate inscribed Furo, that is the portal through which old age enters not. But ere ten years had passed he had become drift of the deep sea. In the case of such a virtuous monarch it would be wholly idle to talk of reward and retribution. It is the dragon of the region above the clouds descending and becoming a fish." [1]

In May, 1185, Yoshitsune returned in triumph to Kyoto, where he was met by a long procession of nobles and officials, and finally ushered into the Great Hall of Audience, where he received the favours of the cloistered Emperor. If Kyoto rejoiced over the great hero, the hero who had finally defeated the Taira, recovered the Regalia, and rendered service to the Emperor and Yoritomo, he was regarded with suspicion, even hatred, at Kamakura. Yoritomo, at all times jealous, now lent a willing ear to scandal. He was told, without a vestige of truth, that Yoshitsune sought to wrest his power from him. He feared and detested his brother's popularity, and listening to the mean stories concocted by partisans, Yoritomo was determined to humble his brother and to destroy permanently his hostile influence.

Yoshitsune, unaware of the scandals at Kamakura, set out for that city full of loyal affection for his brother, and bringing with him a few distinguished Taira prisoners. He sought an interview with his brother, but on reaching Koshigoe, a little village near the famous Enoshima and a few miles west of Kamakura, he was ordered to send on the prisoners but to remain himself in the village. At first Yoshitsune could scarcely realise his brother's harshness, but gradually the painful truth dawned upon him. Yoshitsune was humiliated, but whatever faults he may have had pettiness was not one of them. His generous mind could not conceive at that

[1] Translated by Dr W. G. Aston.

hour anything more than a temporary misunderstanding. His brother's mind had been poisoned, but brotherly affection would prove an antidóte in the end. Benkei must also have had the same charitable outlook, for he drafted a pathetic memorial,[1] which is still to be seen in the Temple of Mampukuji at Koshigoe.

The memorial, touchingly written by one who knew how to write as well as how to draw a mighty sword, lamentably failed to have the desired effect, and Yoshitsune was refused an interview. He was commanded to return to Kyoto with the Taira prisoners, Munemori, Minekiyo, and Shigehira. The first two were decapitated at Shinohara, and Shigehira was sent to Nara.

When Yoshitsune, having disposed of his prisoners, reached Kyoto, an attempt was made to assassinate him. This desperate scheme, originated by Yoritomo, failed, and the Lord of Kamakura sent out an army for the purpose of capturing his too successful and too popular brother. But Yoshitsune, now fully realising his danger and that it was useless to expect justice or mercy at the hands of his brother, the real master of the Empire, fled with Benkei and a few faithful followers. Yoshitsune, instead of being the hero of the hour, instead of receiving well-merited reward for his service, was now regarded as an outlaw, and as such was hunted from village to village, from town to town, by the emissaries of the revengeful Yoritomo.

After a battle in which Yoshitsune for the moment triumphed over his enemies, he set sail with his men and women in the hope of reaching Yashima. A Japanese writer, ever mindful of the picturesque, describes this little fugitive band "as peaceful and as happy as that of those gathered at the evening meal around the lights twinkling in the huts of the fishermen

[1] See J. S. de Benneville's *Saito Musashi-Bo Benkie*, vol. ii. pp. 177-179.

on shore." It soon proves to be more picturesque than accurate, for the terrible defeat inflicted upon the Taira at Dan-no-ura was destined to have a strange aftermath. Over Shosha-san, in Harima, the fugitives saw a storm cloud, and in the cloud red banners and a host of Taira warriors, the red lacquer of their armour making their wry faces more hideous. Yoshitsune had no sooner realised that Taira ghosts leered at them from this mountainous cloud than a great storm broke—wind and thunder and lightning, but no rain. Benkei, who from the moment of his master's fall was the guiding hand, prayed that the Lord Buddha would take pity upon these Taira souls, and in mercy receive them into Paradise, so that they might for ever be at peace. Having offered up this prayer, he took his great bow and shot arrows into the air. No sooner had he done so than masses of white cloud stood out boldly in the sky. "On horseback many warriors proceeded, followed by the imperial palanquin of Antoku Tenno, guarded by demons of strange shape. Five coloured banners floated in the air, and the flash of swords and weapons was like a terrible lightning." Suddenly the ghostly company disappeared, and the fugitives, after encountering another severe storm, and losing some of their number, landed at Sakai, near Osaka.

Arriving at Osaka, Yoshitsune and his followers sought shelter under the flooring of the gate of the Tennoji Temple. When they had remained in hiding for some days, Benkei left their hiding-place and wandered about the temple precincts where he found a crowd gathered round a proclamation. The assembled people were evidently illiterate, for seeing Benkei, and taking him for a priest, they requested that he would read aloud the proclamation. In a voice that boomed forth like a temple bell he read the proclamation, in which it was stated that the two rebels, Yoshitsune and Benkei, having escaped drowning, were to be arrested and sent to Kyoto.

The document bore the Emperor's seal. Benkei withdrew from the crowd with tears of anger in his eyes. Yoshitsune had heard the loud voice of his faithful henchman, and when Benkei joined his master, it was to find him so utterly dejected, so sick of being constantly hunted, that he decided to kill himself. Benkei, however, spoke of courage to his master. He told him that the tiger often misses his spring, and that the only honourable death is to die in battle.

Encouraged by these dauntless words, Yoshitsune and his band left the temple and ascended Yoshino-yama, where snow and ice, bamboo and long grass impeded their progress. All the women had been sent back to Kyoto with the exception of the fair Shizuka, Yoshitsune's mistress. Lagging behind up the mountain-side, she made a brave effort to follow the soldiers who were struggling along in front of her. "Her eyes were wet with tears, and her long sleeves were soaked by the melting snow." Benkei, who had not approved of her joining so perilous an adventure, begged his master to send her back. Yoshitsune spoke to the now prostrate Shizuka. He told her that love made it hard for them to part, but with enemies on all sides and death ever in waiting it was best that she should leave him. He hinted, moreover, that Yoshino-yama was holy ground, and, as such, forbidden to women. He pointed out that failure to observe the mountain's sanctity might well awaken the anger of the Gods. Shizuka begged that her Lord would slay her with his own hand rather than send her to Kyoto. Benkei expressed approval, but Yoshitsune, knowing that she was soon to be a mother, begged that for the sake of his heir she would obey his wish. The appeal was not made in vain. While the lovers touched each other's hands men turned aside and wept. Yoshitsune gave her a mirror, telling her that it had always reflected his face and that whenever she looked

in it she would remember their love. He also gave her a pillow, a sandal-wood drum, and other gifts. They clung to each other at parting, and wavered in a long embrace. At length Shizuka crept sorrowfully away, Yoshitsune watching her till she was out of sight.

Shizuku, forsaken by her escort, presented a sorry figure. "Her sandals were worn through, and her delicate feet were cut by the sharp edges of the ice. Her sleeves, wet with her tears, were lined with ice; and her skirts were heavy with the silvery tracings of the snow, brushed and frozen on her garments. She held up the mirror, but tears dimmed her sight."

She finally reached Kamakura, and examined as to the whereabouts of Yoshitsune. Her questioners were baffled by the frail woman's determination never to betray her lord. As a child she had been a famous Court dancer, and her skill was still remembered in the capital. She was asked to dance at the conclusion of the futile examination, and the request came from Masago, Yoritomo's wife. At first, owing to her condition, she refused, but when it was made known that by dancing the divinity of the place, if pleased with her performance, would shower favours upon Yoshitsune, she consented to do so. A special platform was erected, and it is said to be still in existence.

In a white *hakama*, a red skirt, a Chinese silk kimono edged with green, and over all an elaborate robe, Shizuka stepped forward on the platform while musicians began to play the *Jin-mu-jo* ("Inexhaustible Happiness"). She sang like the singing of a bird, moving her long silk sleeves and fan. Dance and song grew in beauty and pathos—"so light was her dancing that she seemed a very butterfly on the wing." Her thoughts were with Yoshitsune while the weary little figure was exquisitely posturing on the stage. Thinking of him she sang:

" On the peak of Yoshino-yama
Falls the white snow hiding all ;
On this scene the wanderer enters,
Seeking trace of him she loves."

Such dancing, such singing, and such poignant words had their effect upon those who witnessed this performance. Many of them were moved to tears, but the jealous Lord of Kamakura was not moved to pity. So angry was he that he would have had the girl struck down, but Masago pleaded for her life, and Shizuka was allowed to depart with gifts.

In due time Shizuka gave birth to a child. It was torn from her arms, and Adachi rode away with the infant and slew it on the strand of Yui-ga-hama. Fortunately Shizuka, who had not yet attained her twentieth year, was released from further suffering in 1187. She presents a pathetic and noble figure in Japanese history, which includes not a few heroines worthy to stand side by side with the great heroes of Japan.

In the meantime Yoshitsune and his party reached the Province of Mutsu. They sought protection from the son of a local chief who had defended Yoshitsune. The son, however, betrayed his trust, and with an army on the River Komoro attacked the little band of fugitives. While the camp fires of the enemy glowed without, Yoshitsune stood in an apartment with his wife and child, who had joined him since Shizuka's departure. He realised that resistance was useless, that the hour had come when it would be well to beckon Death and make an end of his miserable life and of those he held most dear. When he had ordered his child to be killed by an attendant rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, he held his beloved wife's head under his left arm, and plunged his dagger into her throat. Having accomplished his painful task, he plunged his dagger into his side, and the hunted fell forward peaceful at last

and beyond the power of the Lord of Kamakura. While Kanefusa was reverently carrying away the head of his master, he set fire to the screens of the house and concealed himself in a grove of crytomeria at the rear of the building.

Benkei's fiery spirit was only to be quenched by overwhelming odds. He stood guarding the ford, his mighty form pressed against a great boulder. He had the red and angry face of a Ni-o, a warrior defending to the last the master he had served so well. Benkei had been fired upon by countless bowmen, but still he stood guarding the ford. When the sun rose it shone upon a form from which protruded many deadly arrows. Men of the enemy spoke to him marvelling at his fierce glory. But Benkei did not answer. The great hero was dead, but his was a death too strong to fall. Benkei had fulfilled his brave words: "Where my lord goes, to victory or to death, I shall follow him."

Yoritomo's power and influence increased. The Emperor Go Toba (1186–1199), as well as the cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa, were mere puppets in his hands, and he received from the Court the title of Shogun or Generalissimo. He established a Council of State and taxation on an equitable basis. More than this he established "in each province, along with the civil governor, a 'Protector,' and in each district a *jito*, or military assistant. The Protector was to receive as his salary one-fiftieth of the assessed yield of the land, to reside at the provisional capital, and have joint authority in all matters of administration." Yoritomo also levied a tax for the maintenance of soldiers and appointed his relatives military governors. In short, Yoritomo founded the feudal system in Japan. The military governors gave place in course of time to the first Daimyos. "The real master of the Empire," writes Professor Chamberlain, "was he who, strongest with his sword and bow, and leading the

most numerous host, could partition out the land among the chief barons, his retainers."

Yoritomo realised that a statesman and warrior must show favour toward religion if he would still further extend his sphere of influence. He had founded Kamakura, and to crown his achievement he desired to have built in that city a great image of the Buddha. In 1199, however, while opening in state a new bridge, he is said to have seen the soul of his brother Yoshitsune rise from the water. The sudden apparition caused Yoritomo to fall from his horse in a fainting condition and he died a month later. With his death ended the wars of the Gem-Pei, the Sinico-Japanese rendering of Minamoto and Taira.

Yoritomo's project in regard to the Daibutsu was carried out by Itano no Tsubone, a lady of the Court, who collected funds for that purpose, and in 1252 the image was cast by Ono Goroemon. It represents Amida Buddha, and was originally enclosed in a large building. The temple buildings were twice destroyed by fire, and to-day the great image remains exposed to the elements. "No other," writes Professor Chamberlain, "gives such an impression of majesty, or so truly symbolises the central idea of Buddhism—the spiritual peace which comes of perfected knowledge and the subjugation of all passion."

Yoritomo at the Temple of Hachiman.

From a *kakemono* in the Anderson Collection, British Museum.

CHAPTER X

THE HOJO PERIOD

YORITOMO, whatever his faults may have been, was a great soldier and notable statesman. His administrative policy was sound and beneficial. He had not only brought honour and power to the House of Minamoto, but he had served his country wisely and well. He was the right man in the right place, and no one knew better than he, when civil wars were over for the time being, the necessity of consolidating the Empire. Though he was the actual ruler of the country, he worked conjointly with the Emperor. We associate him with one of the most potent influences in the history of Japan, that of founding on a firm basis the feudal system.

Yoritomo had two sons, Yoriiye and Semman. Yoriiye, at his father's death, was a youth of eighteen. With his zest for martial accomplishments he gave promise of becoming a worthy successor to his father; but the early promise of good things soon faded away, and he became vicious and idle. He consorted with so many worthless favourites that it soon became obvious that the youth was entirely unfitted to carry on the work his father had begun with such conspicuous success. Instead of attending to matters of State he devoted three months to playing hand-ball, or Japanese tennis, in the courtyard. When two landowners in Mutsu came to him and asked him to settle a boundary dispute, he refused to go into the matter carefully, and ignored the witnesses and documents which the litigants had brought with them.

Yoriiye, anxious to get back to his amusements, demanded a map of the two fiefs. When the map was placed before him, he took up his ink-brush and drew a line across the middle of the map, "and assigned a section to each of the parties to the suit, impatiently remarking that if litigants were not satisfied to have differences settled in that manner, they simply must refrain from having disputes!"[1] Mr Murdoch has described this very lax youth as a "thick-headed, muscular wastrel." The description is just.

That very astute councillor, Hojo Tokimasa, who had in his day considerably influenced his son-in-law Yoritomo, and had been in fact his Prime Minister, was by no means scrupulous in the way he added to his power. He despised Yoriiye, and was guilty of encouraging that youth's degeneracy in order to wrest from him the functions of Shogun. While Yoriiye was lying ill in his chamber he chanced to hear of Tokimasa's plan to force him to abdicate in favour of his son. Now Yoriiye realised the advantages pertaining to his high position, and he attempted to free himself from the influence of the Hojo. While discussing the plan of action with his father-in-law, his mother Masago was listening outside the door, and, prompted by filial piety, she informed Tokimasa that her son was seeking to rid himself of his guardian and tutor. Tokimasa, when he heard the news, showed no pity. In a fierce fight Yoriiye's father-in-law, his relatives and retainers, as well as Yoriiye's child were slain. Yoriiye was banished to a monastery and shortly after was murdered in his bath.

Semman, like his brother, showed no aptitude for the duties he was called upon to take up. He was religious and studious

[1] It was somewhat after this desultory fashion that Pope Alexander VI. blessed the globe brought to him. He dipped his brush in red ink and drew a line from pole to pole, giving all lands on one side of the line to Spain and all lands on the other to Portugal.

and found his chief pleasure in various literary pursuits. He was Shogun only in name, and Hojo Tokimasa made it his business to see that his grandchild remained a puppet in his hands, and, moreover, that the boy was not surrounded by men likely to prove formidable to the Hojo. In 1219 Semman was appointed third Minister of State by the Emperor, and, while returning thanks in the Temple of Hachiman at Kamakura, he was assassinated by Kugyo, who in doing so wished to avenge his father's death. Kugyo escaped from the temple, but was speedily slain by those who were sent in pursuit. With the death of Kugyo the direct line of Yoritomo terminated, and with its termination commenced the Hojo Period.

When Tokimasa died Masago, who had taken up her abode in a nunnery on the death of her husband, Yoritomo, continued to influence affairs of State. She was known at that time as the nun-viceregent. She remains to-day one of the most remarkable and one of the most forcible women associated with the history of Japan. Her sole object was to maintain and extend the power of the Hojo. Shoguns as well as Emperors had at this time become puppets, and the Hojo, acting as regents, now had the government entirely under their control. It was the old story of the strongest and most masterful family becoming the dominant power in the land. The Fujiwara, Taira, Minamoto had been superseded largely on account of effeminacy, that quickly led to inefficiency. The Hojo were usurpers, and whatever may be said in favour of some of their members, particularly the wise Hojo Tokimune, they not only forgot the sanctity of the Emperor but frequently behaved towards him in a way which nothing can condone.

During the reign of the Emperor Juntoku (1211–1222), and while the Hojo were engaged in their farcical game of making and unmaking Shoguns from very pliable material,

the ex-Emperor Go Toba and his brother, Tsuchi Mikado, were living in retirement. Go Toba made an attempt to establish his authority and overthrow the power of the Hojo usurpers. He established an army to support his claim at Kyoto and removed Juntoku from the throne in favour of Chukiyo, with the astonishing result that there were no less than four Emperors living at the same time. Masago made a memorable speech at Kamakura before the military leaders and councillors, in which she bade them " Destroy and remove the slanderers, and thus preserve the old plan complete." Go Toba's attempt to crush the Hojo proved unsuccessful. Once again Kamakura of the Regent triumphed over Kyoto of the Court. Go Toba was banished to the Oki Islands, where he died, after many years of exile, in 1239, and where his tomb is still to be seen. Chukiyo, after a reign of three months, was deposed, and he was succeeded by Go Horikawa. Go Toba's sons, Juntoku and Tsuchi Mikado, were banished, and the followers of the Hoji were rewarded for their service with the confiscated fiefs of the nobles who had supported Go Toba. Hojo Yasutoki, who in conjunction with the masterful Masago, was responsible for this tyrannous treatment of the Emperors, had much to commend him as a wise Regent. He devoted the first half of every month to judicature. He caused a bell to be hung in front of the Record Office. It was only necessary for a suppliant to strike that bell to gain attention to whatever grievance he wished put right. Later Yasutoki drew up a code dealing with matters pertaining to the samurai. It is worth recording that at this time the position of women was high, and they could hold fiefs apart from their husbands.

During the regency of Tokimune, the seventh of the Hojo line, a very remarkable man came into prominence, namely, Nicheren. He was the founder of the Buddhist sect which bears his name. He sought to restore Buddhism to the

original simplicity of Shaka Muni's teaching and to crush the belief in a very considerable Buddhist Pantheon. He was not, however, simply a fanatic bent on theological matters. He was practical and farseeing, one whose prophecies, like most prophecies, were largely based upon shrewd common sense. He was aware that Japan was being torn asunder by party intrigues, and he saw that the weakness of his country lay in a complete lack of unity, that civil war and the dominance of one powerful family over another had almost hidden the glowing fire of a national spirit. Nicheren was an iconoclast at a time when iconoclasts were sorely needed. Thinking of Emperors, ex-Emperors, and Shoguns, all puppets pulled hither and thither by the Hojo Regents, he said in one of his sermons: "Awake, men, awake! Awake and look around you. No man is born with two fathers or two mothers. Look at the heavens above you: there are no two suns in the sky. Look at the earth at your feet: no two kings can rule a country." In his *Rissho Antoku Ron* ("Book to Tranquilise the Country") he foretold that unless people repented of their sins punishment would be meted out to them either in the form of a civil war or a foreign invasion. Nicheren has been described as "A strange compound of old Hebrew prophet, Dominican friar, and John Knox." His vigorous preaching was by no means futile. That strange personality actually stimulated the national spirit at a time when Japan was about to face, not the horror of a civil war, but the greater menace of an invasion, which, if successful, would inevitably plunge the country into a state of barbarism. At the time of her greatest need he called upon her people to stand together, to fight together, with one soul and for one object—the liberty of Japan—and he did not call in vain.

In 1268 Kublai Khan, the Mongol Emperor of China, having subdued Korea, sent letters to Kamakura demanding tribute and homage from Japan, for no notice had been

taken of his previous embassy prohibiting the raids of Japanese pirates on the Chinese coast. Tokimune did not submit to such an insulting demand. The embassy was not permitted to proceed to either Kamakura or Kyoto, and those who brought Kublai Khan's insolent message were sent back to China, and other embassies were treated in a similar manner. In 1274 Kublai Khan, finding that his letters were useless, resolved to drop diplomacy and resort to force. In that year he dispatched a fleet of one hundred and fifty war-vessels to Tsushima, an island in the Straits of Korea. Tsushima means "the island of the port," and was so called because its fine ports had made the island from time immemorial a halting-place for vessels plying between Japan and the mainland of Asia. Here the Mongols attempted to land, but the invaders, after a fierce fight, were driven back by the Japanese and the Mongol general killed.

In 1276 Kublai Khan again resorted to an embassy, but on this occasion the envoy was decapitated, and a similar punishment was meted out to other messengers who were dispatched from China three years later. The Emperor of China, incensed by the treatment of his envoys and by the Mongolian defeat off Tsushima, realised that if he would conquer Japan he must resort to more formidable methods than he had hitherto adopted. He accordingly spent two years in preparing a fleet of three hundred war-junks.

In June, 1281, the great Mongol Armada, with 200,000 Mongolians and Koreans on board, appeared off the Island of Iki, situated midway between Tsushima and Kyushu. Having slaughtered the inhabitants of this island, the Chinese fleet anchored off the coast of Kyushu. The vessels were assembled in a long line and secured with chains. Stones were hurled from the high catapults of the enemy's vessels with a view to weakening the Japanese defences, and time after time the Mongolians, who engaged in a hand to hand battle, were driven

back. The extreme peril of Japan at that critical hour was fully realised. The enemy was formidable, and it was thought that strength of arms could not alone oppose so great a force. The Emperor Go Uda (1274–1288) visited the shrines of Ise and prayed for the blessing and support of the Sun Goddess. "Throughout the length and breadth of the land could be heard the tapping and roll of temple drums, the tinkling of sacred bells, the rustle of the sleeves of virgins, and the litanies of priests; while in thousands of temples the wood fire used in the *goma* rite was kept burning, and the smoke of incense ascended perpetually."

The prayers of the Emperor and his people were answered in pretty much the same way as the prayers of our ancestors were answered when the great Spanish Armada set sail for England. Nature, so beloved by the Japanese at all times, came to the aid of her worshippers. The Gods blew a "divine wind," and a typhoon burst over the Chinese fleet. It hurled the vessels together and broke the chains with the ease of a child suddenly rending a little paper boat. Crews were plunged into the raging water and drowned. Vessels that were able to effect a momentary escape were dashed upon the rocks. Mongols who clung to shattered hulks were pulled off by the Japanese with long poles, to which were attached iron hooks, and flung into the water. Those of the enemy who had sought refuge on islands were speedily discovered and decapitated. It is said that only three persons reached China with news of the overwhelming disaster.

Japan had rejected Mongolianism, and in the same waters, under the command of Admiral Togo, she was destined to triumph over the semi-Mongol Russians in 1905. Tokimune died in his thirty-fourth year. In 1905 he received posthumous honour of being exalted to the second degree of the first rank of the nobility in the Japanese peerage. The generals and admirals who contributed so much to the success

of Japanese arms against Russia did him honour at a festival which was held at Kamakura.

Had Japan been conquered by the Mongols her civilisation would have given place to barbarism. India and China both considerably suffered as the result of Mongolian influence. The Mongols tried to crush out Buddhism in China and Hinduism in India. Art, under their barbaric patronage, became extremely bizarre and altogether lacking in real beauty, and intellectualism was stifled under their *régime*. But Japan vanquished the invader, and in so doing the country not only kept out a contaminating influence, but the victory tended to develop the national spirit. The destruction of the Mongol Armada was looked upon as the direct work of the Gods. Prayers that are answered generally tend to increase religious fervour. In Japan at that time there was a distinct revival, and Buddhism increased in favour.

In 1318 Go Daigo became Emperor. He was thirty-one when he ascended the throne, and though he was fond of the gaiety of Court life and was not free from vice, he was sufficiently vigorous to resent the Hojo rule and to do all in his power to overthrow it. His scheme was supported by Kusunoki Masahige, who led the Kyoto army against the Hojo forces. Go Daigo's efforts, like the efforts of his predecessor, Go Toba, were unsuccessful. He, too, was exiled to the Islands of Oki. He escaped, and in the meantime Masahige was able, in spite of his first defeat, to raise another army and was joined by the great Minamoto soldiers, Ashikaga Takauji and Nitta Yoshisada. Takauji had been sent to lead the Hojo forces, but at the last moment he deserted and joined Masahige. The Hojo cause was weakening, and their army, heavily defeated through desertion, was driven from Kyoto to the Province of Omi, where the men, vigorously pursued by Masahige's army, sought shelter in a Buddhist temple. In this retreat Natatoki realised that victory was

impossible, and rather than fall into the hands of his enemies he and many officers sought the " happy dispatch."

While Takauji was leading an army southwards to attack the Hojo forces at Kamakura, Nitta Yoshisada was approaching the capital from another direction. The cliff called Izamura-ga-saki proved unfavourable for his troops, while their passage in boats was equally impracticable owing to the war-junks of the enemy lying close to the shore. Takauji, sorely troubled, climbed the cliff and mournfully surveyed the sea, grieving that he could not share in his attack upon Kamakura. He invoked the God of the Sea, and prayed that that divinity would cause the tide to roll back from the promontory and so allow his troops to proceed. Having uttered his prayer he flung his sword into the water, and immediately the tide ebbed and he and his army advanced upon the capital. The city, founded by Yoritomo, was vigorously attacked and was almost entirely destroyed by fire. The Hojo supporters were slain, and no mercy was shown towards them. The victors were resolved upon extermination, and men, women, and children were slaughtered until, writes Professor Longford, " the burning city was a holocaust with more than a hundred thousand corpses." Takatoki, the last of the Hojo line, made a brave stand, and, having pledged his followers in a cup of wine, committed *hara-kiri*. With his death the Hojo Period came to an end. Some of the Hojo Regents had ruled wisely and had made excellent laws, but not even Tokimune, the brave defender of his country against the Mongol invasion, can save the Hojo Regents from ignominy. The little good they did is outweighed by their cruelty and greed, and above all by their scurrilous treatment of many of the Emperors of Japan. They fought against the Imperial Standard and their names are inscribed in the history of Japan as usurpers.

CHAPTER XI

THE WARS OF SUCCESSION AND THE ASHIKAGA SHOGUNS

With the Emperor Go Daigo on the throne and actually ruling at Kyoto, it looked as if the pernicious system of dual government would be abolished for ever. For the time being the power of Kamakura was swept aside. Court nobles desired to get back to a condition of life as it existed in the early half of the tenth century. Too long had Japanese history been associated with the rise and fall of great families that had not only usurped the power of the Emperor but had plunged the country into endless civil wars.

Unfortunately Go Daigo, weakened by his exile, still further unfitted himself by indulging in various excesses at Court. He lacked the firm rule which was needed to maintain his position. While the enthusiastic nobles were crying "Back to *Engi*,"[1] there was considerable dissatisfaction among captains and landowners who were vigorously seeking rewards. The matter of rewards was so grossly mismanaged at this time that claimants, finding that it was hopeless to expect justice, demanded land at the point of the sword. Mr Murdoch writes: "Kyoto presently assumed the aspect of a captured city in the hands of a victorious enemy; and instead of finding that their Golden Age had returned, the Court nobles discovered that the sword and the mailed fist had never been so powerful in the streets of the capital as

[1] The year-period 901 (Christian era), 1561 (Japanese era). The system of year-periods was borrowed from China.

they were now. It was even dangerous for them to venture out of doors; especially after nightfall. And all this, too, after they had held Court functions in the fashion and the robes of the *Engi* period, and had legislated as to what shape of hat the military men were to wear!"

Ashikaga Takauji, bent on self-advancement, accused Yoshisada of being disloyal to the Emperor. It was a false charge, and Yoshisada and Masahige received an imperial commission to bring an army against him. When Kiyomori removed the capital from Kyoto to Fukuwara, he diverted the bed of the Minatogawa in order to prevent it from flooding the town, and constructed the artificial Island of Tsukijima, which exists to this day. It was on the banks of this river, near the scene of the famous battle of Ichi-no-tani, that the forces of Takauji were completely victorious.

Masahige fled with seventy-two of his followers and sought shelter in a farmhouse. Finding escape impossible, and rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, they committed *hara-kiri*. Yoshisada continued to fight for his Emperor in the west for two years. Accompanied by only fifty men he was surprised by a force of over three thousand, and while attempting to charge the enemy with his little band he was shot in the eye. He was mortally wounded, and is said to have performed the very remarkable feat of cutting off his own head, while his followers died in the usual samurai fashion. Both Yoshisada and Masahige are regarded in Japan to-day as great heroes who served their Emperor with self-sacrificing devotion. A statue has been recently erected in Tokyo in memory of Masahige.

The victorious Takauji now advanced upon Kyoto with a great army, and the Emperor, who had refused to confer the title of Shogun upon this rebel, was forced to flee from the capital, and taking the Imperial Regalia with him, took up his abode in a temple at Yoshino, where Yoshitsune and

Benkei had taken refuge before proceeding into Mutsu. Six hundred years have not materially changed the rooms occupied by Go Daigo, and these, as well as the Emperor's grave near the temple, may still be seen.

When Takauji entered Kyoto he declared that Go Daigo's flight was in the nature of abdication. He accordingly set on the vacant throne Prince Kogen, a son of the Emperor Go Fushimi (1298–1301), and from the new sovereign received the title of Shogun. We have already seen that many of the later Emperors were mere puppets in the hands of powerful, self-seeking families. Now, however, the imperial tragedy strikes a more complex note. While Kogen, thanks to the powerful military support of Takauji, occupied the throne, the legitimate Emperor Go Toba, though forced to flee from the capital, possessed the Imperial Regalia, which, by true loyalists at any rate, has always been the token of sovereignty by divine right. For nearly sixty years there was rivalry between the two dynasties, the one at Kyoto and the other at Yoshino, and these dynasties were known as the Northern and Southern Dynasty respectively. The first five Emperors who reigned at Kyoto are known as the False Emperors, and with the exception of the sixth, Go Komatsu (1383–1393), only the Emperors of the Southern Dynasty are included in the official list of the Emperors of Japan. The wearisome battles between the rival dynasties that took place at this period are known as the Wars of Succession.

While the conflict raged between the Northern and Southern dynasties certain priests compiled and published the *Kemmu-Shikimoku*, or Code of Kemmu, with a view to supporting the Ashikaga cause. It contained seventeen articles, innocent enough in themselves, but accompanied by a commentary that by no means supported the belief of the loyalists, namely, that the Emperor rules by virtue of his divine descent. Kitabatake Chikafusa, an eminent supporter of Go Toba,

wrote a counterblast with a view to showing that the Mikados of the Southern Court were the legitimate sovereigns of Japan. His work was entitled the *Jintoshotoki* or "The History of the True Succession of the Divine Mikados of the Southern Court." He wrote: "Great Yamato is a divine country. It is only our land whose foundations were first laid by the divine ancestor. It alone has been transmitted by the Sun Goddess to a long line of her descendants. There is nothing of this kind in foreign countries. Therefore it is called the divine land. . . . It is only our country, which from the time when the heaven and earth were first unfolded has preserved the succession to the throne intact in one single family. It is the duty of every man born on the Imperial soil to yield devoted loyalty to his Sovereign, even to the sacrifice of his own life." Chikafusa's work did not put an end to the Wars of Succession, and the sword and the arrow of the warrior proved mightier than the brush of a loyal Minister.

The founder of the Ashikaga Shoguns died in 1358. Mr Murdoch describes him as "brave in the field of battle, patient and tenacious in the face of disasters; generous, liberal, not vindictive, and highly accomplished as accomplishments then went. . . . The tone of his household was that of the most extravagant of the greatest Court nobles; the State, he maintained, was almost imperial. . . . Takauji may indeed have been the greatest man of his time; but that is not saying very much, for the middle of the fourteenth century in Japan was the golden age, not merely of turn-coats, but of mediocrities."

Takauji was succeeded by his son Yoshiaki, and on his retirement, Yoshimitsu, his grandson, became Shogun. In many ways Yoshimitsu was the most distinguished of the Ashikaga Shoguns. He was successful in bringing to an end the long rivalry between the Northern and Southern Dynasty by arranging that Go-Kameyama of the Southern Dynasty

should come to the capital and present the Imperial Regalia to Go-Komatsu, then the Emperor of the Northern Dynasty. It was a triumph for the Ashikaga party, and with one Emperor as figure-head but not ruler the country enjoyed momentary peace.

The Ashikaga have been described as "the best hated line of rulers in Japanese history." They took their name from a town in the southwest of Shimotsuke on the River Tone. Their ancestral home, once an Ainu stronghold, was famous for its Academy of Chinese Learning, said to have been founded by Ono-no-Takamura (801–852). The great library has been dispersed, but the image of Confucius is still shown to visitors. To-day Ashikaga is a flourishing town, the centre of a trade in cotton and silk goods.

Yoshimitsu has been singled out for special condemnation because, wishing to add to his revenue for personal use, he curried favour with China and issued an order to prohibit Japanese pirates from raiding the Korean and Chinese coasts. Though the order was not wholly effective, the Emperor of China seems to have taken the will for the deed, and Yoshimitsu was permitted to send a certain number of merchant ships to China every year. The Ming Emperor referred to Yoshimitsu as *O*, meaning "King," while the Shogun basely styled himself vassal, and treated Chinese envoys in such a way that they could do no other than regard Japan as a tributary kingdom, and for these offences he has been very justly condemned.

Yoshimitsu was not a patriot where money was concerned. To say that he had expensive tastes is to give a very poor idea of his unbridled extravagance. He was a patron of the arts and learning at a time when such things had become an æsthetic cult. Among the watchwords set forth in the *Kemmu-Shikimoku*, to which we have already referred, were the practice of rigid economy and suppression of wanton

amusement. Yoshimitsu ignored the early tenets of the Ashikaga. Sensual, as well as highly artistic, he made fashion and æsthetic taste a divinity. The splendour of his palace at Mukomachi, and the beauty of the grounds in which it had its setting, won for it the name of the "Palace of Flowers." On his nominal retirement he built the *Kinkakuji*, or Golden Pavilion, to which the territorial nobles were forced to contribute. Inside this three-storied edifice, which was a blaze of gold, there were feasts and music and dancing. To-day the palace buildings have disappeared, but the pavilion, a shadow of its former beauty, still remains. Statuettes by the carver Unkei of Amida, Kwannon, and Seishi, as well as an effigy of Yoshimitsu in the robe of a Buddhist priest will be found in the lower room. The mural paintings of Kano Masanobu have almost faded away, while the gold, once so thickly strewn upon lacquer and hempen cloth and upon choice woods, has almost disappeared. On the top of the pavilion stands a bronze phœnix, and near this costly building of an ultra-artistic Ashikaga Shogun stands Kinukasa-yama, or "Silk Hat Mountain," so called by an emperor who ordered it to be covered with white silk to suggest coolness on a hot summer day.

Yoshimitsu, who had always hankered after titles and honours, obtained the First Degree of Court rank and was also invested with the Chancellorship. He showered favours upon the Zen sect, and established a friendly relation with his great vassals by attending the feasts they held in their mansions and inviting them in turn to accept his own very lavish hospitality. There was something more than mere courtesy in these friendly proceedings. The Shogun found popularity among his Barons essential, but he also found that by encouraging their hospitality he was also encouraging their extravagance and crippling their wealth in a very subtle and tactful way.

On the death of Yoshimitsu he was succeeded by Yoshimochi.

At this time, owing to the inordinate extravagance of the Shoguns, the country was in a very deplorable state. Taxation was so far on the increase as to become a positive robbery to the struggling farmer, who was compelled to pay 70 per cent. of the harvest he reaped. Famine added to the misery of the down-trodden people, and though Yoshimochi made a feeble effort to cope with the calamity, he still continued to live in great luxury and to patronise the arts as his grandfather had done before him. While he contemplated the curve of a flower or studied a picture there was a daily death-roll of nearly eight hundred peasants, and to add to the horror, women and boys belonging to the peasant class could only obtain food and shelter at the expense of their honour. While people were being starved to death, while the streets were piled high with corpses of those who had at last found peace, Yoshimochi set out for Nara. The very elaborate progress of the Shogun was known as *o-nari*, "the honourable becoming." He either rode in a palanquin or an ox-carriage. The animal was black, and so well groomed that its coat resembled silk. The caparisons were gay and generally in scarlet, purple, and white, while the vehicle shone with golden lacquer and ornate hangings. Behind this imposing equipage followed the Shogun's retinue arrayed in magnificent robes. The Shogun's "honourable becoming" had all the splendour of a religious procession. His journey was much too sacred to admit of any kind of intrusion, and misfortune was the lot of those who raised an eye or peeped out from a house when the great Shogun was on a journey.

In 1461 there was plague as well as famine, and within two months eighty thousand people perished in Kyoto. The Shogun Yoshimasa found nothing artistic in either plague or famine or death. Every pulse was quickened by a work of art, but the cry of the miserable people left him undisturbed. He continued his debauches and attended to various building

schemes intended to add to his pleasure. The only occasion he felt ashamed of his heartlessness at a time of such terrible suffering was when he received a satirical poem from the Emperor Go Kameyama.

At length the so-called common folk began to protest. They realised at last, and with increasing fury, that they had toiled and been abased and compelled to suffer in order to maintain, not the dignity due to the Emperor, but the pomp and circumstance of a dissolute, incompetent, and heartless Shogun. It was no quiet murmur of complaint. The people began to organise into what proved to be a very formidable rebellion. Demanding vengeance, they rushed through the streets of Kyoto and spread themselves out through the Home Provinces. They were given the sop of a Benevolent Act occasionally. Like hungry wolves they pounced upon it, their hunger assuaged for the moment. Then once more their anger showed itself. They ransacked temples and then set fire to them; they attacked "godowns"[1] and the shops of pawnbrokers, and in course of time, so fierce was their onslaught, they succeeded in razing part of Kyoto to the ground. Worse was to follow in the Great War of Onin in 1467–1477.

Yoshimasa, the eighth of the Ashikaga Shoguns, was genuinely artistic, and patronised artists so lavishly that he has been called a Japanese Medici, but he was entirely lacking in those qualities essential to good government. After the War of Onin he caused to be erected the famous *Ginkakuji* or Silver Pavilion. The park in which this building was situated was designed by Soami. Certain features in the landscape were known as the "law of the waters," the "sound of the streams," the "essence of incense," the "gate of the dragon," the "bridge of the mountain of genii," the "vale of the golden sands," the "hill that faces the moon."

[1] Fire-proof buildings where valuables were stored.

Many of these poetical names have reference to Buddhist doctrines, and this elaborately designed park, like the Pavilion itself, was intended to minister to the owner's very refined worship of the beautiful. It was Yoshimasa who brought into prominence the *Cha-no-yu*, which signifies "hot water for tea," a delightfully naïve name for a ceremony that was extremely complex.[1] This elaborate system of drinking tea was invented by Shuko, and it so much appealed to Yoshimasa that he added the first tea chamber ever built in Japan to his Silver Pavilion. He called the room *Shuko-an*, wrote the name on a tablet, and caused it to be placed over the door. The *Chashitsu*, or rooms devoted to the tea-drinking cult, display fine and artistic workmanship. They are remarkable for their minuteness and perfect proportion of every detail. The largest tea-room sanctioned by Rikiu, the great Tea Master, was only nine feet square. The mighty Buddhist temples impress us with their grandeur, but these tiny buildings, devoted to æsthetic and polite ceremonies, waken our admiration by their wonderful minuteness. Not only was the elaborate tea ceremony performed in the Silver Pavilion, but also such diversions known as "incense-comparing" and "poem-comparing" parties.

Kyoto in the middle of the fifteenth century is thus described by a native writer: "The finest edifices were, of course, the Imperial Palaces. Their roofs seemed to pierce the sky and their balconies to touch the clouds. A lofty hall revealed itself at every fifth step, and another at every tenth. No poet or man of letters could view these beauties unmoved. In the park, weeping willows, plum trees, peach trees, and pines were cleverly planted so as to enhance the charm of the artificial hills. Rocks shaped like whales, sleeping tigers, dragons or phœnixes, were placed around the lake, where mandarin ducks looked at their own images in the clear water.

[1] See *The Book of Tea*, by Okakura-Kakusa.

Beautiful women, wearing perfumed garments of exquisite colours, played heavenly music. As for the 'Flower Palace' of the Shoguns, it cost six hundred thousand pieces of gold. The tiles of its roof were like jewels or precious metals. It defies description." The same writer, in language that is more Chinese than Japanese, describes a temple "bathed in blossom as a mountain is in clouds," that "in the rays of the setting sun the roof glowed like gold," while "every breath wafted around the perfume of flowers." He concludes his eulogy with the following lament: "Alas! the city of flowers, which was expected to last for ten thousand years, became the scene of desolation; the home of the fox and the wolf. Even the temples of Tojo and Kitano, which survived for a time, were ultimately reduced to ashes. Peace succeeds war, rise follows fall in all ages, but the catastrophe of the Onin era obliterated the ways of Emperor and of Buddha at once. All the glories of Imperialism and all the grandeur of the temples were destroyed for ever. Well did the poet write: 'The capital is like an evening lark. It rises with song and descends among tears.'"

If the glory of the Emperor had departed, and if the temples had been looted and burnt, such circumstances were the direct result of misrule due to effeminacy. The followers of Yoshimasa might drink their tea amid lovely and harmonious surroundings; they might dream away their days in contemplating a single blossom, but while they were doing so the common folk were asserting their rights, and warlike spirits were engaged in family feuds. The later Ashikaga Shoguns were so immersed in studying and patronising the beautiful in art, were so bent on gratifying their artistic tastes regardless of expense, that they were blind to the needs of the people. Ceasing to rule they had become ruled by a cup of tea, by a flower, by a Buddhist thought, by the perfection of a picture or a statuette, and, blind to everything not directly connected

with art, their power departed from them. We are told that the "common people made tea, and sold it in the garden of the Palace, under the very shadow of the Cherry of the Right, and the Orange of the Left. Children made it in their playground. By the sides of the main approach to the Imperial Pavilion they modelled mud toys; sometimes they peeped behind the blind that screened the Imperial apartments. The Sovereign himself lived chiefly on money gained by selling his autographs. The meanest artisan might deposit a few coins with a written request such as—I wish such and such a verse from the *Hundred Poets*, or a copy of this or that section of the *Ise Tales*. After some days the commission was sure to be executed. At night the dim light of the room where the Palace ladies lodged could be seen from Sanjo Bridge. So miserable and lowly had everything become."

CHAPTER XII

NOBUNAGA AND CHRISTIANITY

With the Emperor and Shogun mere puppets in the hands of powerful ministers and almost every man fighting against his neighbour, Japan was in such a state of unrest that there was every possibility that the country would be divided into a number of principalities unless a strong man could be found capable of putting an end to party discord and establishing the unification of the Empire on a firm basis. Never in the history of Japan had there been so much need of a man charged with national spirit, one who should serve his country first and rise superior to petty personal aggrandisement. The great men arose in Japan's hour of need—Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu.

Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) was sixteen years old when he inherited his father's estates in the Province of Owari. A high-spirited youth, he was bent on escapades that gained for him the nickname of *Bakadono*, "The Lord Fool." His tutor and guardian, Hirate Masahide, presented a written protest to his young master in which he pointed out the folly of his lord's indiscretions. Masahide, in order to give emphasis to his admonitions, committed *hara-kiri*, and this act of self-sacrifice proved the turning-point in Nobunaga's career.

In 1560 Imagawa, the powerful lord of Totomi, Suruga, and Mikawa, commenced to journey towards Kyoto with a large army. His purpose was to seize the Emperor Ojimachi

(1558–1593), the Shogun Yoshiteru, the last but one of the Ashikaga line, and make himself the supreme power in the land. Imagawa, however, in order to reach the capital, had to pass through Nobunaga's territory. The armies of Nobunaga and Imagawa met at the village of Okehazama, and the invader and his force were defeated. With four wealthy provinces in his possession, Nobunaga found himself in a strong position. In 1562 he was commissioned by the Emperor to pacify the country and in this momentous task he was assisted by Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu. A Japanese writer has thus aptly described the differences in the characters of these three men: "'If you don't sing,' said Nobunaga, 'I'll wring your neck.' 'If you don't sing,' said Hideyoshi, 'I'll make you sing.' 'If you don't sing,' said Iyeyasu, 'I'll wait until you do.'"

Nobunaga subdued the provinces of Omi, Settsu, and Kawachi, and made Yoshiaki Shogun, in succession to his brother Yoshiteru, who had been assassinated by his ministers, Miyoshi and Matsunaga. Nobunaga was by this time the most powerful man in the land, but his success met with a good deal of jealousy in many quarters, and it was no small task to maintain the subjection of the provinces he had won in the name of the Emperor and at the same time to carry on the pacification of the country in still turbulent provinces. While absent in Ise the Shogun Yoshiaki, deeply resenting the restrictions Nobunaga had imposed upon him, revolted and joined issue with those anxious to suppress the all-powerful Nobunaga. Nobunaga, hearing of the sedition, promptly returned and wiped out the offending families of Asakura, Asai, Miyoshi, and Sasaki. He deposed Yoshiaki, and with his death in 1573 the line of Ashikaga Shoguns came to an end. Nobunaga was now virtual Governor of the Empire, and for his services he received the title of *Gon-Dainagon*.

Kyushu, literally, "the Nine Provinces," is the most southerly of the four great islands of Japan. It has played an important part in the history of the Japanese Empire, from the legendary period to the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877. It was from Kyushu that Jimmu Tenno set forth to subdue the country: from this island that the Empress Jingo set sail for Korea, and centuries later the great fleet of Kublai Khan approached its shores. Kyushu, so rich in historical incident, was destined to be the island where the Portuguese missionaries landed. Here Japan was to receive her first impressions of European civilisation, and her first impressions of Christianity as promulgated by St Francis Xavier and other devout and zealous Jesuits.

Mendez Pinto, in company with two other Portuguese adventurers, landed on Tanegashima, south of Kyushu in 1542 when Nobunaga was eight years old. The local prince received Pinto with great cordiality, and this Portuguese traveller seems to have had a lively imagination with no marked love of truth. In common with many travellers of his day he was gifted in the art of telling travellers' tales more remarkable for the wonder they contained than for their veracity. Aware that he had made a favourable impression upon the local prince he observes that "we rendered him answers as might rather fit his humour than agree with the truth—that so we might not derogate from the great opinion he had conceived of our country." According to one authority Pinto's stories about the Japanese "created the scepticism that coined the word 'mendacious,'" though most of us will prefer a Latin derivation. William Congreve wrote in *Love for Love*: "Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee—thou liar of the first magnitude." But Congreve's bitter attack was by no means wholly justified. Pinto, though he may have yielded occasionally to exaggeration, especially in speaking of Portugal, was by no means a Münchhausen.

He wrote of Japanese wonders that seemed incredible to some of his less imaginative contemporaries, but we know now that his impressions and anecdotes were not entirely devoid of truth.

Pinto visited the Province of Bungo, presented his arquebuse to the local prince, and explained the use and method of making powder. That clumsy firearm of the first European to visit Japan was destined to have a marked influence. Japanese armourers in Kyushu were commanded to make imitations of it, and within a few years there were over thirty thousand firearms of the same pattern in Fumai (now Oita), the capital of Bungo, and more than three hundred thousand in the whole province. In course of time there was a replica of Pinto's arequbuse in every village and town in the Japanese Empire.

An amusing story is told of Pinto's arquebuse. The Prince of Bungo desired to see one of the Portuguese, and Pinto, being of a "more lively humour," accepted the invitation, taking his notorious gun with him. Pinto was acquainted with doctoring and was successful in curing the Prince's gout. The Portuguese adventurer, as the result of his success, was soon immersed in the gaieties of Court life, and he caused considerable amusement and no little curiosity by repeatedly firing his arquebuse. Unfortunately, the young son of the Prince loaded and fired the gun on his own account. He proved to be something of a Japanese Winkle, for a terrible explosion took place and the astonished boy fell to the ground considerably injured. Attendants blamed Pinto for the mishap, and for the moment, when rage was uppermost among those who had witnessed the scene, this Portuguese traveller was likely to suffer death in consequence. Pinto, however, was a man of resource. He bound up the boy's wounds and applied medicaments in so masterly a way that the youth soon recovered from the injuries he had sustained,

Kwannon, Goddess of Mercy.

Fukien porcelain, Franks Collection, British Museum.

"so that," observes Pinto, "after this sort I received in recompense of this my cure above fifteen hundred ducats that I carried with me from this place."

Our interest in Pinto is not confined to his introduction of firearms into Japan. In 1547, on the occasion of his second visit to Japan, Anjiro, a native of Kagoshima in the Province of Satsuma, famous for its faience, had heard of Francis Xavier, "the Apostle of the Indies," and desired to meet him and become acquainted with the Christian faith. In company with his servant, he boarded Pinto's vessel as a fugitive and ultimately reached Malacca. Father Xavier, who was about to set out upon his mission in the East, took a great interest in these Japanese fugitives, and Anjiro and his servant were sent to the Jesuit College at Goa, where both were baptised, Anjiro receiving the name of Paulo de Santa Fé and his servant the name of John. When these converts had become proficient in the Portuguese language and had learnt the main essentials of the Christian faith Xavier set sail with them, together with two compatriots of his own, for Japan. They reached Kagoshima on August 15, 1549.

It is not within the scope of this book to attempt to criticise the pioneer work of the Jesuits in Japan. Japan has always been remarkable for her toleration both in regard to religion and other matters. She lent a sympathetic ear to the new faith. She admired the early Jesuit Fathers, and saw in those loyal and self-sacrificing souls a type of priest immeasurably superior to the average Buddhist *bonze* who, while murmuring the *sutras*, playing the outward *rôle* of a saint, was in reality leading a life contrary to the teaching of Buddha. The Jesuits won converts as much by the fine example they set as by their actual teaching. Later on we shall have much to say in regard to the terrible persecution of Christians in Japan. It is an undeniable blot on Japanese history, but before we condemn the tyranny of Hideyoshi we

must be careful to bear in mind that Japan listened with tolerance to Christianity so long as that term implied religion. It was when Christianity became mixed with political intrigues that Japan rose with such terrible effect to extirpate the Christians.

That the early Jesuit Fathers in Japan made mistakes cannot be denied. They were so anxious to win converts to the faith as quickly as possible that they were often hampered by a multitude of half-converted disciples. Their success, or partial success, was astounding. They commenced their work by preaching at Kagoshima where Anjiro's relatives lived, and these relatives were speedily converted to the faith. The Princess of Satsuma became interested in the new religion, and, delighted with a picture of the Virgin and Child, begged Anjiro to speak to her of his new-found faith. It is more than probable that this Princess saw in the Madonna a resemblance to Kwannon, the Goddess of Mercy, indeed some of the Buddhist priests extended their toleration so far as to state that Christianity was but another sect of Buddhism, a kindly and well-meant classification that did not meet with the approval of the Jesuits. Xavier, however, if we may judge from his early letters, was more than satisfied with the Japanese people. He writes: "I really think that among barbarous nations there can be none that has more natural goodness than Japan." And again: "They are wonderfully inclined to see all that is good and honest, and have an eagerness to learn."

Xavier left Kagoshima and journeyed to Hirado, where he was successful in establishing a church. From Hirado he went to Hakata with three of his disciples. It was at this port that the fleet of Kublai Khan was repulsed. The town is now famous for its fine silk fabrics, some of which imitate the shimmer of hoar-frost, while another variety is known as the *e-ori-komi* or "unwoven pictures." He left Kyushu,

crossed to the Main Island, and sought to convey his message to the people of Yamaguchi in the Province of Nagato. Here, however, he was driven out of the city, and in the company of a number of Japanese merchants reached Kyoto. The journey undertaken in the winter had been extremely arduous, and failing to gain a hearing from either the Emperor or Shogun, his efforts met with but little success in a city that was occupied with political intrigues. He left behind him loyal disciples to carry on the work he had begun, and set sail for China in 1551. He was unable to carry on his mission in the Chinese Empire, for he died on his way at the Island of Sancian, near Canton, in 1552, and was buried in Goa. He had sown the seeds of Christianity in Japan, and during his sojourn in that country of two and a quarter years, he had already seen a plentiful harvest, especially in the Province of Bungo. Where he had failed to win a hearing from the Emperor and Shogun we shall see that others were successful, not in obtaining the approval of these puppets, whose approval was of little consequence, but in winning the allegiance of Nobunaga.

A fire had destroyed a great part of the city of Kyoto, and Nobunaga set to work to rebuild the palaces of the Emperor and Shogun. He was strongly opposed to the Buddhists, and had no hesitation in demolishing many of their monasteries in order to supply materials for his undertaking. When there was a shortage of stone he ordered that stone images of Buddhist deities should be dragged through the city, broken, and used for building purposes. This act has won for him the title of a Japanese Cromwell. The comparison is poor, for, unlike the great Puritan, Nobunaga, however ruthless he may have been in many ways, was never taciturn, indeed, genial *bonhomie* was one of his characteristics. He laughed at the disconsolate *bonzes*, and if he looted their temples, it was he who first employed decorative woodcarving. He

caused the pillars of a Buddhist pagoda at Azuchi to be adorned with carved figures of dragons, and from that time dates the commencement of glyptic art in the ornamentation of interiors. Cromwell, on the other hand, destroyed much that was beautiful without giving to the world anything to take its place.

Nobunaga personally supervised his building operations. Very severe discipline was maintained, and Nobunaga, clad in a tiger-skin and holding a scimitar, was surrounded by a band of armed men. The work proceeded under military control, and those engaged in the labour of building sometimes numbered as many as twenty-five thousand men. Nobunaga was a very formidable overseer. We are told that on one occasion, while he stood watching the work, he chanced to see a soldier insult a woman. He at once advanced towards the offender, struck off his head, returned to where he had been originally standing, and coolly continued his conversation as if he had already forgotten the incident. Nobunaga was a strong man who inspired fear as well as confidence, and among his workers were not a few princes and lords who considered themselves well rewarded when he favoured them with a look.

It was the Jesuit Froez who was the first to win the goodwill of Nobunaga. His memorable meeting with the master of the Empire took place on the city drawbridge in 1568. Nobunaga welcomed the new faith, and was in fact a very powerful and active ally. Although he allowed his son to adopt the Roman Catholic teaching, and though under his patronage he was largely responsible for nearly twenty thousand converts in Kyoto alone, he had no intention of yielding to the faith himself. Nobunaga was not religious. It pleased him to favour the Jesuits simply because he saw in Christianity a very valuable weapon for reducing the strength of the militant Buddhists who were among his most formidable enemies.

The Jesuits were naturally pleased with the attitude Nobunaga had adopted towards them, and at first they were prone to praise him. They have presented a very clear outline of Nobunaga's character. In their Annual Letter of 1582 we read:

"This man seems to have been chosen by God to open and prepare the way for our holy faith, without understanding what he is doing, because he not only has little respect for the *Kami* [Shinto deities] and the *Hotoke* [men who have attained Buddhahood] whom the Japanese worship with such devotion, but he is furthermore the capital enemy and persecutor of the *bonzes*, inasmuch as among the various sects many are rich and powerful and lords of great fortresses . . . and by their opposition they have often put him into great straits; and if it had not been for the *bonzes* he would now be lord of the whole of Japan. For this reason he is so hostile to them that he aims at their total ruin. . . . On the other hand, in proportion to the intensity of his enmity to the *bonzes* and their sects, is his goodwill towards our Fathers who preach the law of God, whence he has shown them so many favours that his subjects are amazed, and unable to divine what he is aiming at in this."

If Nobunaga succeeded in puzzling his subjects as to the favours he bestowed upon the Jesuits, and if these Fathers were of the opinion that he favoured their faith without knowing what he was doing, Nobunaga was fully aware that Christianity might be effectively employed against Buddhism. He who had no religious faith of his own could afford to be magnanimous toward a religion that purported to bring peace and not a sword. Nobunaga was not a fanatic but an opportunist. Indeed, he saw something humorous in pitting Christianity against Buddhism. On one occasion he took a keen pleasure in starting a religious discussion between Froez and Laurence, Jesuit Fathers, and a Buddhist priest

named Nichi. Nichi, in the course of his discussion, lost his temper. In a loud voice he said to the imperturbable Froez that this "European *canaille* that seduced the people with its tricks ought to be hunted from the Empire." Nobunaga, smiling, quieted Nichi, and then deftly changed the conversation to a discourse on the immortality of the soul. Nichi, who must have been a very long way from Nirvana, at the very mention of the word soul, snatched a sword from the wall, intending to cut off Father Laurence's head to see if that worthy Jesuit had a spirit! Hideyoshi, who was present, succeeded in disarming this rude and turbulent priest. In 1570 Nobunaga sentenced Nichi to death, and from that time the Buddhists increased their hostility.

The great Buddhist monastery situated on Hiei-zan, with its three thousand buildings, furnished Asakura and Asai, enemies of Nobunaga, with food and shelter preparatory to their marching to Kyoto. While leading their armies towards the capital they were defeated by Nobunaga and fled to their own provinces. The action on the part of the monks still further incensed Nobunaga, who had long nursed a hatred towards their vast establishment. The warrior-priests had given endless trouble and he resolved to be avenged upon them. He observed: "If I do not take them away now, this trouble will be everlasting. Moreover, their priests violate their vows; they eat fish and stinking vegetables, keep concubines, and never unroll the sacred books. How can they be vigilant against evil, or maintain the right? Surround their dens and burn them, and suffer none within them to live!" Nobunaga left Gifu with a strong army and stormed the Hiei-zan heights. The final attack, September 29, 1571, ended in a terrible massacre, so complete that many thousands of priests perished.

Nobunaga now devoted his attention to exterminating the Monto priests who had taken up a fortified position in what

is now Osaka. They occupied a strongly guarded fortress, and it was not until 1580 that Nobunaga burnt it to the ground. Most of the priests perished in the great conflagration.

The Jesuits no doubt saw Nobunaga as the "scourge of God." By destroying many thousands of Buddhist priests they believed that Christianity would be firmly established in Japan. Nobunaga, the irreligious ally of the Christians, had adopted measures that suppressed Buddhist power in certain quarters; but his persecution stirred up bitter feeling. He had outraged humanity in his shameless slaughter of Buddhist priests. The time came when the pendulum swung, not against Buddhism but against Christianity, and the blow was far more terrible.

Whether power or lust for vengeance affected Nobunaga's character it is impossible to say; but he ultimately became of more interest to the pathologist than to the historian. Father Froez writes in one of his letters: "He began, like another Nebuchadnezzar, to aim at being adored by all not as mere mortal man of this earth, but as God and Immortal Lord. To accomplish this most execrable and abominable design he built a temple on a hill hard by the fortress of Azuchi, with an inscription, which, translated into our tongue, says thus: 'In the great kingdom of Japan, in the fortress of Azuchi, on this mount which even from afar holds forth joy and content to him who looks upon it, Nobunaga, the Lord of all Japan, regard this temple of Sochenji. The rewards reaped by all such as shall worship it are as follows: In the first place, such as are already rich shall become richer; the poor, the low, and the wretched shall become wealthy. Those who have no sons or successors to propagate their generation shall at once have descendants, and shall enjoy long life in great peace and repose. They shall reach a hundred years. They will be cured of sickness

in a twinkling and shall have fulfilment of their desires in safety and tranquillity. Every month a solemn festival shall be held in memory of the day on which I was born, which shall be celebrated by a visit to this temple. All who put their faith in what has been said will undoubtedly obtain all that is hereby promised. But the perverse and the unbelieving, whether in this life or in the one to come, will be sent to perdition. Wherefore I repeat that it is very necessary that all should have the highest veneration and respect for this place' . . . For his own account he caused a stone to be placed higher than all the other idols . . . and caused a proclamation to be made throughout his kingdoms that from all the cities, castles, and villages every quality of men and women . . . should come on his birthday. . . . The Divine Justice did not permit Nobunaga to draw delight for long . . . as certain dread signs seemed to portend. For the 8th of March, towards four o'clock of a very clear and calm evening, over the loftiest tower of Azuchi the sky seemed as if on fire and so red that our people in the Residency were greatly perturbed. This appearance lasted till morning, so low and so close to the tower that it seemed that it could not be visible at a greater distance than twenty leagues, but afterwards we knew that it had been seen in Bungo. On the 14th of May, about the same hour, a comet with a very long tail appeared [and it continued] visible for many days to the great fear of every one. And a few days thereafter in Azuchi about midday a star fell from the sky, which seemed very portentous to our people."

Having put an end to the great monastery on Hiei-zan and the Buddhist fortress at Osaka, Nobunaga was resolved to crush Mori, who was lord of many provinces in the Main Island. While remaining himself in Kyoto with a small bodyguard he sent Hideyoshi with a great army for the purpose of subduing him. Now it happened that Akechi

Mitsuhide, who led one division of the army, bitterly resented a jest that had been played upon him by Nobunaga when in a merry mood. Nobunaga, at a feast, had tapped Akechi's head with his fan. Deeply chagrined and mortified he had never forgiven his master, and instead of following the main army of Hideyoshi, he persuaded his men to return with him to Kyoto. When he was no longer able to satisfy the curiosity of his soldiers he confessed that his intention was to slay Nobunaga and plunder the capital. No opposition was offered, and Akechi and his division entered Kyoto. The traitors proceeded to Nobunaga's palace, where Nobunaga was in the act of performing his morning ablutions. On hearing a great tumult in the courtyard he looked out. Immediately arrows were fired upon him, and a few moments later soldiers crowded into his apartment. There is doubt as to the closing scene of his life. Some are of the opinion that he fled to another room, and finding defence useless, committed *hara-kiri*, while others affirm that he was burnt to death in the palace which the traitors fired. The Jesuits have not been able to refrain from moralising on the subject, though they might well have spared one who had rendered them so many services. They saw in the death of Nobunaga the hand of God. One of the Fathers writes: "The Omnipotent struck him in His fury, and from Temporal fire precipitated him into everlasting flames, to teach men that there is only one God above that rules over Kings and humbles the Proud." If Nobunaga finally met with the condemnation of the Jesuits he had within him the germ of true greatness. He had brought peace to Kyoto and to provinces where his arms had prospered. Above all, though a soldier rather than a statesman, he had organised a strong government at Kyoto and had laid the foundation upon which Hideyoshi was able to build a united Empire. When Father Organtino and Brother Laurence had shown him on a globe the position of

Portugal, he observed: "As you expose yourselves to such dangers, either you are thieves who are compassing some fraud, or this Gospel of yours is really some fine thing." Had he lived longer, or had he been able to read the future, he would have discovered that the missionary enterprise in Japan was a fine thing until fraud crept in and swept away its spirituality, until the self-sacrificing teaching of Xavier was lost sight of in political intrigue. Nobunaga had opened the door to Christianity with the politeness of a courteous host who, behind a smiling face, had his own ends to serve. Thousands passed through that door not knowing that it led to a place almost as grim and pitiless as a Chinese hell.

CHAPTER XIII

HIDEYOSHI AND THE FIRST PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS

TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI is undoubtedly one of the greatest men in Japanese history, as well as one of the most interesting. In a country where noble blood was the generally accepted road to high position and power, Hideyoshi stands forth as a solitary example of one who, in spite of his humble birth, overcame all obstacles. Stamped with a genius that outshines that of Yoritomo himself, he became the most eminent and the most powerful man of his time. Nobunaga had commenced the unification of Japan: Hideyoshi completed it through sheer tenacity of purpose and with a success that is beyond praise. Mr Walter Dening, in his interesting *Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi*, writes, with well-merited enthusiasm: "Taken as a whole, I venture to think that few more remarkable lives than that of Toyotomi Hideyoshi have been lived. As a contrast to the tendency to slavish imitation of the arts, the methods, and even the words, of others which displays itself in the lives of so many ancient and modern Japanese, it is refreshing to read the history of a man whose career was illuminated with the most brilliant flashes of genius, to meet with a specimen of humanity that stands out in marked distinctness from all that preceded, followed, or was contemporary with it." Blessed with tact, humour, and generosity, Hideyoshi possessed a knowledge of human nature that was almost, but not quite, infallible. That he made a mistake in

his Korean wars cannot be denied, but he made this mistake only after he had been supremely right in consolidating the Japanese Empire at home. He has been called the Napoleon of Japan, but whereas Napoleon's wars left Europe precisely where it was before he led his armies to victory or defeat and France no whit the better for his conquests, Hideyoshi left Japan a united nation, when a few years before he commenced his brilliant career the country was very much divided against itself, indeed in danger of losing its spirit of nationality altogether. He has been, and will continue to be, harshly criticised in regard to his attitude toward Christian missionaries. But impartial readers, who have no axe to grind either for or against foreign missions, will realise that Hideyoshi's policy was a sound one in the main, that the patronage he extended to the missionaries and later on his clemency were both abused. Hideyoshi, putting his country first and the Christian missionaries second, was certainly just.

Hideyoshi was born at Nakamura in the Province of Owari in 1536. His father was a poor woodcutter, and the boy used to assist him in felling timber and afterwards selling it as best he could. Young Hideyoshi had the dark skin common to the peasant class. He was under-sized, clumsy in his movements, with a face so like that of an ape that he was nicknamed "Monkey." His eyes were the one redeeming feature of a very unattractive face, eyes so bright, so penetrating that, according to one contemporary, they seemed to emit flashes of fire. This stunted boy, with an apish countenance, met with a good deal of ridicule from those with whom he came in contact. The eyes alone indicated that behind his comicality glowed a force of character that would in time surmount the most formidable obstacles. At an early age he showed his independence. We are told that, with all the gravity of a child, he placed food before an image of Amida Buddha, informing the figure that gods must eat if they would

make their divinity of use to human beings. For several days he set food-offerings before Amida Buddha, and at length, finding that the Blessed One did not eat, he very illogically assumed that Amida Buddha was a false god, and, having come to this conclusion, he struck off the head of the image. We read of Hideyoshi's escapade with a band of robbers and of many other adventures which may or may not be inventions of the story-teller. He soon grew weary of leading a hand-to-mouth existence, and became a groom in the service of Nobunaga. Nobunaga was a keen judge of character. There was something in the boy that appealed to him, and he saw in the odd-looking lad with his piercing eyes the possibility of great things. Hideyoshi did not long remain in the company of horses, and soon became a soldier. So great was his success in this calling that on the death of Nobunaga he was not only the greatest general in Japan, but the one best suited to take up the rule of his master.

On the death of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi proceeded to the capital. At Nishinomiya, on his way to Kyoto, he was attacked by assassins in the employ of the traitorous Akechi. Hideyoshi, in his eagerness to reach the capital, had left his small bodyguard in the rear when the attack was made upon him. After inflicting injury upon his assailants, but without succeeding in putting them to flight, he sought shelter in a wayside temple. Here he discovered that all the priests were enjoying a bath together. Explaining who he was, and having begged their protection, he took off his clothes and joined the bathers. The assassins were not long in entering the temple, where they failed to recognise Hideyoshi enjoying his ablutions with the priests of the temple.

When Hideyoshi reached Kyoto he raised an army to avenge the death of Nobunaga. At Yodo, near the capital, a battle was fought in which Akechi's men were defeated. Akechi was wounded and sought shelter in a wood, but his hiding-

place was discovered and he was put to death by peasants. His body was afterwards crucified, and his head exposed in front of Nobunaga's tomb.

The murder of Nobunaga having been justly avenged the important matter of his successor occupied the attention of Hideyoshi and his advisers, among whom were the three generals of Nobunaga—Niwa, Shibata, and Ikeda. Nicknames were prevalent in Japan at that time. Hideyoshi was called "Cotton," and the three other captains, in the order given above, "Rice," "Attack," and "Retreat." The first could be used for many purposes, the second was as indispensable as the staple grain of Japan, the third could lead an army to victory, and the fourth understood the difficult art of conducting a retreat to advantage. These men, among others, formed a council for the purpose of deciding upon Nobunaga's successor. They met in the castle of Kiyosu in Owari. It was finally decided that Samboshi, the infant grandson of Nobunaga, should be regarded as the Head of the House of Oda, while Nobuo, the eldest son of the late Regent, should act as guardian. Hideyoshi, Shibata, Niwa, and Ikeda "were all to rank as equals."

Hideyoshi was too independent to have his actions controlled by the captains who had formed the council. To rank as equals with them was obviously to restrict his power and to curb an ambition that would only be satisfied with supreme rule in the land. He soon upset the decision of the council and built two fortresses with a view to protecting the southern approaches to Kyoto. Shibata, and Nobutaka, the youngest son of Nobunaga, took alarm at this independent proceeding that plainly showed it was Hideyoshi's intention to be master of the Home Provinces. Hideyoshi, aware of the forces that had been raised by Nobutaka in the Castle of Gifu and of Shibata's troops in the Province of Mino, set out to oppose them. "In the month of December (1582)," writes

Father Froez, "marching with a great army towards Mino, he encamped around the city of Gifu, which he could very easily have taken and fired if he had been so minded; but Nobutaka, seeing the straits he was in, humbled himself and begged for mercy, placing himself entirely in the hands of Faxiba [Hideyoshi], who, exercising clemency, pardoned him for the past, taking, however, as hostages his mother and daughter and the most important persons in his household."

Hideyoshi now entered Echizen with his forces and surrounded the castle where Shibata, then sixty years old, prepared to offer resistance. Shibata was a brave captain, and, realising that there was little hope of escape, he told his companions that, rather than fall into the hands of Hideyoshi, he was fully resolved to put an end to his own life and to have his body burnt to ashes before the enemy invaded the castle. When his companions, together with their wives and sons, heard these words, they all agreed without exception to follow the course Shibata had adopted. The love of life is strong, especially in the time of grave danger, and the men and women agreed to make the most of the few moments left them. A feast was prepared, "and they all began to eat, and to drink, and to play, and to sing with great bursts of laughter and merriment, as if they had been at some triumph or actual dance." Straw had been placed in all the rooms, and upon the straw gunpowder was strewn, which was presently fired. "Then Shibata, first of all springing upon his wife, the sister of Nobunaga, slew her with strokes of his dagger, and after her his other ladies, sons, and daughters; and immediately after that, cutting his belly in cross fashion with the same dagger, the miserable and unhappy man perished. All the others did likewise, first killing their dear consorts, sons, and daughters. Whence," continues Froez, with a taste for the lurid, "in place of the past songs, there

suddenly rose cries and wailings so high and horrible that they drowned the roar of the flames."

Iyeyasu was now the only powerful general who opposed Hideyoshi, and he supported the cause of Nobuo, the other son of Nobunaga. Although Hideyoshi's army was defeated, no doubt because he had not led it in person, Iyeyasu was wise enough to see that it was only a temporary victory. He realised that he could not hope to oust Hideyoshi in favour of Nobuo, and he accordingly made peace with him.

By this time Hideyoshi had supreme authority in the Main Island, and during a brief period of peace he realised that the importance of his position was not consistent with his humble birth which he was anxious to conceal with a view to giving more rein to his ambitions. He requested that the ex-Shogun Yoshiaki would adopt him as his son. The request was not granted; but when the Minamoto had failed to favour him the still more distinguished Fujiwara decided to adopt him, a distinction that gave him the semblance of being a descendant of the Gods themselves. In 1585 the Emperor Ojimachi conferred upon him the title of *Kuambaku*, or Regent, and at the same time he received the name of Toyotomi.

In this year Hideyoshi completed the great Castle of Osaka. It had taken two years to build, and thousands of labourers had been employed in the task, men who had been drawn from almost every part of the country. The palace within the mighty granite walls was probably one of the grandest buildings ever seen in Japan. The moats were paved with granite and from the donjon could be seen distant Hiei-zan, Koya-san, and Kongo-san. Below the donjon was a well called the *Kim-mei-sui*, or "Famous Golden Water," which could be drawn upon by a garrison in time of siege. Only a portion of this colossal fortress survives, and it is still used for military purposes.

At this time we learn from one of the Jesuit Fathers that

Hideyoshi "had far outstripped his predecessor Nobunaga in grandeur of state, in power, in honour, and in riches. . . . Into his hands come nearly all the gold and silver of Japan, together with other rich and precious things; and he is so feared and obeyed that with no less ease than a father of a family disposes of the persons of his household he rules the principal kings and lords of Japan; changing them at every moment, and stripping them of their original fiefs, he sends them into different parts, so as to allow none of them to strike root deep."

We have already seen in the previous chapter that though Nobunaga persecuted the Buddhists he showed considerable favour toward the Christian missionaries and their converts. Hideyoshi, with something of the deceptive smile of "The Old Buddha," saw in the rapid spread of Christianity a useful political tool. So long as the tool remained useful and not unwieldy or even dangerous, the Christians were loaded with favours. On the advice of Takayama, a great general and zealous convert of the Christian faith, Father Organtino Gnecchi received permission to build a church and house near the imposing fortress at Osaka. The Jesuit Fathers seem to have been much pleased with Hideyoshi at this time. In 1584 we are told that "Hideyoshi was not only not opposed to the things of God, but he even showed that he made much account of them, and preferred them to all the sects of the *bonzes*. He puts much trust in Christians. . . . In brief, he is entrusting to Christians his treasures, his secrets, and his fortresses of most importance, and shows himself well pleased that the sons of the great lords about him should adopt our customs and our laws." More than that Hideyoshi said to one of the Jesuit Fathers: "You know that everything in your law contents me, and I find no other difficulty in it, except its prohibition of having more than one wife. Were it not for that I would become a Christian at once."

Hideyoshi may well have smiled over this confession, for he had no less than three hundred concubines at Osaka. One of the Court physicians, Manase Dosan, became a convert, and the example of this distinguished savant was immediately followed by his eight hundred pupils. But Takayama was by far the most powerful of the Japanese Christian converts. He was fanatical in his zeal, and made Christianity compulsory among the vassals on his estates. He preached the faith in Court, and was one of the Jesuits' most successful disciples.

The reception given to the Vice-Provincial Coelho and his party by Hideyoshi in Osaka Castle on May 4, 1586, must have still further delighted the Jesuit missionaries who, having been favoured by Nobunaga, believed that they would receive the life-long support of his successor. More than once Hideyoshi dismissed formality, and on this occasion he so far departed from precedent in Court etiquette as to leave his throne, sit down by Coelho's side and chat over old times in the most friendly way possible. He still further gratified his guests by informing them that after he had conquered China he would take pleasure in causing Christian churches to spring up everywhere and to order all his subjects in the Empire to become Christians. The little party was then shown over the castle by Hideyoshi himself, rather in the manner of a genial and intimate friend than that of a great and powerful Regent. Returning from this personally conducted tour of the fortress the guests were offered refreshments, which were served by Hideyoshi himself. Thus ended a reception so full of promise that the Jesuits must have returned fully assured that the day would soon arrive when, thanks to a most beneficent patron, all Japan would adopt the Christian faith.

Thus encouraged Coelho and other Jesuits drew up a petition requesting that they might have permission to preach the Gospel throughout the Empire, that billeting should not

be imposed upon their churches and houses, and that they should be exempt from other burdens. This document was handed to Hideyoshi at the right moment by his consort. The Regent granted the petition and two copies were prepared, one for Europe, "in order that it might be known by the Christian lords how greatly he favoured Christianity," and the other for Japan. Both copies were sealed and signed by Hideyoshi.

At this time the Regent was determined to subdue Kyushu, where the Satsuma clan considered itself sufficiently powerful to deny his authority. In 1586 Hideyoshi sent a letter to Shimazu Yoshihisa, Prince of Satsuma, requesting him to come to the capital in order to receive investiture from the Emperor for the provinces which he held. The Prince tore up the letter, trampled upon the pieces, and bade the envoy return to his plebeian master, telling him that that was the only answer he intended to give.

Hideyoshi, having received this insolent reply, commenced to furnish troops for his expedition against the Satsuma clan. He was second to none in the art of military organisation, and on January 7, 1587, a vanguard numbering sixty thousand men set sail for Kyushu. A fortnight later Hideyoshi left Osaka with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men. He proceeded by land as far as Shimonoseki, and from this port crossed the Straits of Shimonoseki to Kokura. The invading army far outnumbered the Satsuma forces. The latter, while showing conspicuous bravery, were at last compelled to retreat to Kagoshima and finally to enter the castle of that city. At this juncture it would have been easy for Hideyoshi to have taken the fortress, in short to have exterminated the Satsuma clan. Having pressed back his enemy he stayed his hand at a time when Nobunaga and Yoritomo, had they been placed in similar circumstances, would have shown no mercy. His aim had always been to

consolidate the Empire. He knew the value of the Satsuma clan, and rather than wipe it out, he saw that by showing mercy he might attain a greater victory than any won at the point of the sword. He informed the Satsuma clan that his sole object was to establish peace throughout the Empire and to bring the provinces of Kyushu under the control of the capital. Hideyoshi's action showed that he was a man of genius, a statesman as well as a general, and one who by his unexpected clemency had welded the last link in a united Japan.

Christianity during this period had become a popular craze. From Hideyoshi's point of view it had become a menace, and for the first time he began to show his real attitude in the matter. Hitherto he had laughed in his sleeve while speaking fair words to the highly gratified missionaries. He now became suspicious, and said " that he feared much that all the virtue of the European *religieux* was merely the mask of hypocrisy, and only served to conceal pernicious designs against the Empire ; that he was even much deceived if these strangers did not wish to march in the steps of the *bonze* who had so long been the tyrant of Osaka."

While Hideyoshi was at Hakata, a large Portuguese merchant vessel anchored at Hirado. The Regent desired that Coelho would go to the captain and ask him to bring his ship to Hakata as he wished to inspect the vessel. The Jesuit, having delivered his message, returned with the captain to Hakata, who politely informed Hideyoshi that he was unable to comply with his request as his vessel was too large to admit of putting in at that port. Hideyoshi seemed satisfied with this explanation, and the captain and Coelho returned to the vessel. The following day the Regent visited the ship and spent a considerable time on board before taking his departure. Not many hours after Hideyoshi had gone, Coelho was aroused from sleep and informed that a messenger

from the Regent wished to speak to him immediately. When the perplexed Vice-Provincial hurried on deck he was told, in a most peremptory fashion, to go on shore. Having landed, the messenger presented him with a paper bearing the following questions: "Why, and by what authority, he and his followers constrained Japanese subjects to become Christians? Why his disciples overthrew Buddhist temples and persecuted the *bonzes*? Why they and other Portuguese ate such animals as oxen and cows? Why he permitted Portuguese merchants to buy Japanese in order to make slaves of them in the Indies?"

While Coelho was pondeirng over these questions, which he was asked to answer as soon as possible, another messenger advanced and announced that Takayama, the most promising of the Japanese flock, was to be exiled.

Hideyoshi's patent of 1586 was Coelho's answer to the first question, and to the second and third he replied that neither he nor his own missionaries had ever treated the Buddhists with violence, admitting, however, that new converts, "knowing the falsity of the sects of Japan, and persuaded that the *Kami* and the *Hotoke* were anything but Gods, had fancied it to be their duty to ruin their cult and wreck their temples," militant acts for which the Fathers themselves were in no way responsible. As to the fourth question, Coelho replied that they had only partaken of meat in the houses of Portuguese, politely adding "that if his Majesty [Hideyoshi] did not approve of their doing so, they would desist from eating it in future." Coelho pointed out that the Fathers had always been opposed to the slave traffic of the Portuguese traders and had made every effort to put an end to such a shameful practice.

These straightforward answers did not satisfy Hideyoshi. Coelho was commanded to go to Hirado, there to collect his

religieux, and within six months to leave the country. On July 25, 1587, the following Edict appeared:

"Having learned from our faithful councillors that foreign *religieux* have come into our estates, where they preach a law contrary to that of Japan, and that they had even had the audacity to destroy temples dedicated to our *Kami* and *Hotoke*: although this outrage merits the most extreme punishment, wishing nevertheless to show them mercy, we order them under pain of death to quit Japan within twenty days. During that space no harm or hurt will be done them. But at the expiration of that term, we order that if any of them be found in our States, they shall be seized and punished as the greatest criminals. As for the Portuguese merchants, we permit them to enter our ports, there to continue their accustomed trade and to remain in our States provided our affairs need this. But we forbid them to bring any foreign *religieux* into the country, under the penalty of the confiscation of their ships and goods."

Such Church historians as Crasset and Charlevoix throw little if any light on the situation, indeed their "explanations" are either extremely naïve or simply foolish. It is from Froez's letter of 1597 that we learn the truth in regard to Hideyoshi's change of front concerning the Christians. That religious turn-coat, Toquun, who had used such honeyed words to the missionaries in 1586, was aware that the Fathers made a special point of converting men of noble birth and saw in this distinction "a device for the conquest of Japan," while he looked upon Takayama as an extremely dangerous fanatic. Toquun was not slow to inform Hideyoshi of his suspicions. The Regent at first laughed at the fears of the Court physician, but "when he arrived in Kyushu against the King of Satsuma," writes Father Froez, "and noted that many lords with their vassals had become Christians, and that the same were bound to each other in great concord and

exceedingly devoted to the Fathers, he began to recall what Toquun had already filled his ears with, and to understand that the propagation of the faith would be prejudicial to the safety of the Empire. And this is the true cause of the aversion he now declares."

The Fathers assembled at Hirado were determined not to quit the country. They sought refuge in Christian territories, and were able to carry on their work secretly. A Papal Bull, promulgated in 1585, gave them the exclusive privilege of missionary work in Japan.

In 1593 a Japanese merchant was anxious to trade with the Philippine Islands, at that time a Spanish possession. This resulted in the dispatch from Manila of four Franciscan monks, acting not as missionaries but as ambassadors. On the strict understanding that the Franciscan monks would not engage in proselytising, they were permitted to enter Kyoto. The Franciscans, however, did not fulfil their promise, and, having established themselves at Kyoto and Nagasaki, dropped the *rôle* of ambassador and began to preach.

In October, 1596, the *San Felipe*, a Spanish galleon, was stranded on the Japanese coast. The captain of the vessel, wishing to impress the Japanese authorities with the power of Spain, commenced to show on a map the vast possessions of the Spanish monarch. The authorities inquired how it was that the King of Spain had won so many conquests and so many dominions, to which this very indiscreet captain replied: "Our kings begin by sending into the countries they wish to conquer priests who induce the people to embrace our religion; and when these have made considerable progress, troops are dispatched who combine with the new Christians, and then our kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest." Hideyoshi was acquainted with this speech that revealed all too clearly the unscrupulous aggression

that followed in the wake of genuine piety. He had hitherto shown mercy and given frequent warnings, but in the face of this frank revelation his anger was fully aroused. On the 5th of February, 1597, six Spanish Franciscans, together with seventeen of their native converts and three Japanese Jesuits, were crucified at Nagasaki. Hideyoshi had dipped his hands in the blood of Christians, but in so doing he was not sending martyrs to the cross but men who had set at defiance the laws of the land, who had employed subterfuge and intrigue, and who, perhaps without knowing it, had by their action caused the failure of Christianity in Japan for many a year to come. Japan had shown extreme tolerance, indeed more than tolerance toward this foreign religion. It is probable there would have been a lasting harvest if all the later missionaries had possessed the humility and piety of St Xavier.

CHAPTER XIV

HIDEYOSHI AND THE KOREAN WARS

HAVING subdued the turbulent Satsuma clan so that Kyushu ceased to be an independent island and became an integral part of the Japanese Empire, Hideyoshi turned his attention to Hojo Ujimasa, who at Odawara was maintaining a hostile attitude. It was the one refractory element in his dominions, and in order to complete the unification of the Empire, Hideyoshi was determined to subdue this rebel and his followers. The boatmen entrusted with the transport of horses for this undertaking were extremely superstitious. They were afraid to cross the Sea of Enshu lest the God Ryugu, who had no liking for horses, should be offended. Hideyoshi, instead of laughing at the boatmen, tactfully informed them that as the expedition was to be carried out on behalf of the Emperor, the God of the Sea would have no objection to help such a worthy cause. He wrote a letter to Ryugu requesting that the deity would protect the ships during their voyage, and the letter was " posted " by being dropped into the sea. The boatmen, their fears banished, now raised no objection to the undertaking, and the horses were successfully landed. In 1590 Hideyoshi defeated Ujimasa in the battle of Ishikake-yama, and the Hojo power was broken for ever.

With the downfall of the Hojo all the Kwanto provinces, namely Sagami, Musashi, Hitachi, Kotsuke, Kazusa, and Awa came under the control of Hideyoshi. He was now supreme master of the whole Empire. Iyeyasu, who had

assisted in the siege, was given the Kwanto provinces as a reward for his services, and he resided at Yedo, literally " door of the bay."

In 1591 Hideyoshi retired from the position of Regent and adopted the title of Taiko or " Great Councillor," a title by which he is most familiarly known in Japanese history. He nominated his nephew Hidetsugu his heir and gave him the title of *Kuambaku*, a title of no distinction considering that Hideyoshi continued to exercise the same authority during his nominal retirement as he had exerted while Regent.

In the following year the Taiko's sixth wife, Yodo, gave birth to a son named Hideyori, regarded by many as an illegitimate child. In consequence of this event there was great rejoicing throughout the country. To Hidetsugu, as may be expected, the event was a severe blow to his interests. He had looked forward to succeeding his uncle, but now that Hideyoshi had a son the agreement was set at naught and all his hopes dashed to the ground. Jealousy existed between uncle and nephew, though outward courtesies were maintained. On one occasion Hideyoshi, attended by three hundred nobles, paid a visit to his nephew's palace at Kyoto, where an elaborate banquet was prepared, the food being served on no less than thirteen thousand tables. The Taiko, in spite of his assumed friendliness, resolved to get rid of his nephew in order that there should be no dispute in regard to the heirship of his son. With this object in view Hidetsugu was commanded to pay him a visit in his palace at Fushimi, attended only by pages.

Hidetsugu did not reach Fushimi, for on his way he was taken prisoner and led to Kongobuji on Koya-san, a Buddhist monastery founded by Kobo Daishi. It contains a collection of eight thousand scrolls of Buddhist scriptures with letters of gold and silver ornamentations, and is famous for its ten thousand and one lamps. It is told that a rich man pre-

sented the monastery with ten thousand lamps, and that a poor woman sold her hair in order that she might give a single lamp. When a wind arose all the lamps of the rich man were blown out, but the one given by the woman still continued to burn brightly. The largest lamp in the hall is now called *Hinja no Itto*, or "Poor Woman's Single Lamp." Attached to the monastery is a great cemetery, through which runs a long avenue of crytomerias. It is the most famous cemetery in Japan, for it contains memorials of some of the greatest Japanese heroes and saints, poets and royal ladies. It is believed that those who are buried here will have the privilege of being reborn into the Tosotsu Heaven, or into Jodo, "the Pure Land of Perfect Bliss."

In this monastery Hidestugu was confined with five of his pages. Hideyoshi in the meantime had made his plans, and sent orders that his nephew and attendants should commit *hara-kiri*. Not one of them flinched, and when the youths had made use of their weapons in the prescribed way, the Prince himself took the last dark journey. It was a strange whim of Fate that he should have crossed the "Bridge of Paradise" leading to that monastery, for it is said that only those who are pure in heart can enter that sacred building. Lest we are inclined to pity Hidetsugu, it is well to bear in mind that in spite of the flattering remarks of the Jesuits, his death, quite apart from political reasons, was desirable. He was as diabolically cruel as the vicious Emperor Muretsu, and his chief delight was to mutilate criminals and to fire upon their dismembered bodies, while his cruelty to women is best left untold.

It may be that the Palace of Fushimi tended to remind Hideyoshi of the death of his nephew. Shortly after this event took place the Palace of Pleasure on Momoyama ("Peach-blossom Mountain") was pulled down. Portions were distributed among certain great mansions at Kyoto,

principally fine specimens of wood-carving. From this palace was taken a two-leaved gate that now stands at the Nishi Hongwan temple. It is called the "day-long portal," and on each side of the panels the carver has depicted an incident from Chinese history. Hideyoshi's palace was certainly a magnificent example of applied art, but its dismantling served the useful purpose of scattering the many distinguished artists engaged upon it and in causing beautiful work to be executed, not simply at Fushimi, but in many parts of the country.

Unfortunately Hideyoshi was not content to have got rid of Hidetsugu. For once in his brilliant career he failed to show the restraining hand of mercy, and with a tyranny wholly unworthy of him, he caused to be executed in the dry bed of the River Kamo his nephew's wife and children, the ladies of the Court, and indeed all who were in any way connected with him. It was an act of butchery that made the Jesuits describe the agonising scene as "one of the bloodiest tragedies that has ever been acted in the theatre of this world." Whatever may be said in defence of Hideyoshi's persecution of the Christians, no excuse whatever can be found for this barbarous act.

As we have already said Hideyoshi had succeeded in the complete unification of the Empire. But he did not rest content with the accomplishment of this tremendous task. He desired fresh conquests. He wished to add dominions to the Empire, to extend his power beyond the seas after the manner of the Kings of Spain. In 1590 he visited the shrine of Yoritomo, near Kamakura, where he is reported to have patted the image and said: "You are my friend! You took all the power under Heaven [in Japan]. You and I only have been able to do this; but you were of high and illustrious descent, and not like me, sprung from peasants. But as for me, after conquering all the Empire, I intend to conquer

China. What do you think of that?" At a much earlier date Hideyoshi had been almost obsessed with the same idea. He is reported to have said to Nobunaga: "I hope to bring the whole of Chugoku [Central Japan] into subjection to us. When that is accomplished I will go on to Kyushu and take the whole of it. When Kyushu is ours, if you will grant me the revenue of that island for one year, I will prepare ships of war, and purchase provisions, and go over and take Korea. Korea I shall ask you to bestow on me as a reward for my services, and to enable me to make still further conquests; for with Korean troops, aided by your illustrious influence, I intend to bring the whole of China under my sway. When that is effected, the three countries [China, Korea, and Japan] will be one. I shall do it as easily as a man rolls up a piece of matting and carries it under his arm." He had already united the Japanese Empire, and, master in his own country, with a shadowy Emperor who cared more for poetry than war, he was resolved to conquer China and Korea.

It will be remembered that when the Empress Jingo invaded Korea, the country, anxious to obtain peace, promised to pay tribute to Japan. The tribute was paid regularly for a considerable time until in the fourteenth century Korea came under the protection of China, when, as may be supposed, the Korean tribute was not forthcoming. In 1582 Hideyoshi sent an envoy to Korea demanding the payment of tribute, but not until eight years later did the Korean Government deem it advisable to send an embassy to satisfy the demands of the ambitious Hideyoshi.

When the embassy arrived at Kyoto, Hideyoshi was at Odawara engaged in a campaign against Hojo Ujimasa. But when he returned to the capital many months elapsed before he was pleased to grant an audience. When he did condescend to see the ambassadors, he did so with marked insolence and with the set purpose of humiliating Korea's

representatives. The following is the Korean account of this very remarkable audience: "The ambassadors were allowed to enter the palace-gate borne in their palanquins. They were preceded the whole way by a band of music. They ascended into the Hall, where they performed their obeisances. Hideyoshi is a mean and ignoble-looking man, his complexion is dark, and his features are wanting in distinction. But his eyeballs send out fire enough to pierce one through. He sat upon a threefold cushion with his face to the south. He wore a gauze hat and a dark-coloured robe of state. His officers were ranged round him, each in his proper place. When the ambassadors were introduced and had taken their seats, the refreshments offered them were of the most frugal description. A tray was set before each, on which was one dish containing steamed *mochi*, and *sake* of an inferior quality was handed round a few times in earthenware cups and in a very unceremonious way. The civility of drinking to one another was not observed. After a short interval, Hideyoshi retired behind a curtain, but all his officers remained in their places. Soon after a man came out dressed in ordinary clothes, with a baby in his arms, and strolled about the Hall. This was no other than Hideyoshi himself, and everyone present bowed down his head to the ground. Looking out between the pillars of the Hall, Hideyoshi espied the Korean musicians. He commanded them to strike up all together as loud as they could, and was listening to their music, when he was suddenly reminded that babies could despise ceremony as much as princes, and laughingly called for one of his attendants to take the child and to bring him a change of clothing. He seemed to do exactly as he pleased, and was as unconcerned as if nobody else were present. The ambassadors, having made their obeisance,

retired, and this audience was the only occasion when they were admitted to Hideyoshi's presence."[1]

The ambassadors naturally resented Hideyoshi's discourtesy. They were still more indignant when they learnt that this "ignoble-looking man" with boorish manners was not the Emperor as they at first supposed, but merely the Regent, a monkey-faced upstart who had once been a groom. Hideyoshi presented them with a letter to the King of Korea, in which was written :

"I will assemble a mighty host, and invading the country of the great Ming, I will fill with the hoar-frost from my sword the whole sky over the four hundred provinces. Should I carry out this purpose, I hope that Korea will be my vanguard. Let her not fail to do so, for my friendship with your honourable country depends solely on your conduct when I lead my army against China."

Hideyoshi's letter, of which the above is only an extract, was so insolent that the embassy had to request that the Regent would modify its tone, and more than once was it necessary for them to repeat the request before they had the courage to return to Korea.

The Korean ambassadors were assured that the Taiko's intention was to invade Korea without a reasonable pretext for so doing and in order to gratify an ambition that knew no bounds. The Emperor Ojin had been identified with Hachiman, and it is said that Hideyoshi sought the conquest of Korea in the hope of rivalling that ruler. The Koreans, who could be sarcastic as well as urbane, informed the Taiko that his idea of conquering China resembled an "attempt to measure the ocean with a cockle-shell, or of a bee to

[1] This account of the audience, Hideyoshi's letter to the King of Korea, and the document relating to the Regent's investiture by the Emperor of China, are translated by Dr W. G. Aston. See his articles, "Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vols. vi., ix., xi.

sting a tortoise through its shell," while the Jesuit Fathers described the project as "a temerarious enterprise."

Hideyoshi, however, blinded by ambition, and unduly elated by past successes, regarded the scheme as worthy of his power of military organisation. He had learnt much from the Kyushu campaign, and he brought that knowledge to bear in dealing with his projected invasion. Hideyoshi, then fifty-six years of age, was in many ways intemperate. At that time he lacked the stamina necessary for leading his armies in person, and was compelled to content himself with raising and maintaining large forces in the field. He appointed Konishi Yukinaga, a Christian and the son of a druggist, commander of the first army composed of contingents from Bungo and other provinces where there were many Christian soldiers. The general-in-chief of the second army was Kato Kiyomasa, the son of a blacksmith. He was a man of exceptional ability, and is now worshipped under the name of Seishoko at the Temple of Hommonji. He led men from the northern and eastern provinces, including veterans who had fought under Hideyoshi in his earlier wars.

The first army reached Korea, April 13, 1592. The Koreans had no fortresses, few poor firearms, and were in every way unfitted for warfare. Konishi's division captured Fusan, a town with a magnificent harbour, which to-day, protected by Deer Island, affords anchorage for more than one great navy. On the landing of Kato's forces the two armies pressed forward, met with feeble opposition, and were soon in possession of Seoul, the capital of Korea. The inhabitants were seized with panic and King Riyen and his Court fled to a province on the borders of China, experiencing during their flight terrible privations. Ping Shang was captured by the Japanese, and, shortly after the fall of this town, China sent a wholly inadequate army of five thousand men to Korea's assistance. An attempt was made to wrest Ping Shang from the Japanese,

but the Chinese were defeated, and, overcome by panic, hastened back to their own country.

Beaten on land the Koreans were determined to make use of their war-junks, which were superior to those of the enemy. Assembling their vessels to the west of the harbour of Fusan, they feigned a retreat. The ruse was successful and the Japanese ships, weighed anchor and sailed out into the open sea. The Korean war-junks suddenly faced the enemy, and completely defeated the Japanese, destroying many of their vessels, and forcing others to take shelter in the harbour. The success proved to be a turning point in the invasion. It made the Koreans masters of the sea and in a position that enabled them to check any landing of Japanese reinforcements or fresh supplies of much needed provisions. The Koreans now had a very marked advantage over their enemies, for the Japanese were not used to the severities of a winter in Korea, and without sufficient food or warm clothing they suffered acutely.

In February, while the Japanese were suffering from cold and hunger, while many of the soldiers were naked and destitute of almost all the necessities of life, China, having discovered that her first army was totally inadequate, sent a second force, this time of considerable strength. The combined armies of Kiyomasa and Yukinaga entered Seoul. A fierce battle ensued in which the Chinese fell on their enemies "like lions." It was only the superior swordsmanship of the Japanese that finally resulted in their victory. But the success had been dearly won. Their death roll was heavy, and neither the Japanese nor Chinese were anxious to continue the attack under such circumstances. An armistice was agreed upon and the Japanese armies left Seoul and entrenched themselves at Fusan.

In 1593 China and Korea sent an embassy to Japan to treat for peace. In the meantime, however, the Japanese

army still remained in Korea, captured Chinchu and slew over sixty thousand Koreans. Though in the following year the Chinese army was withdrawn and only a Japanese garrison retained at Fusan, Hideyoshi still delayed to treat for formal peace.

Further diplomatic negotiations were deemed necessary, and China sent a second embassy to Japan soliciting peace and offering Hideyoshi the honour of investiture, but on condition that all Japanese soldiers should leave Korea, and that Japan should never invade that country again. The two Chinese ambassadors, with an imposing retinue, were detained at Fusan. Their detention was a lengthy one, for Hideyoshi saw in this coming visit ample scope for a magnificent reception. He resolved to gratify his love of display, his innate vanity to the full. While the ambassadors and their retinue had to content themselves with camp life at Fusan, Hideyoshi employed, according to the Jesuits, a hundred thousand men to build a very imposing Hall of Audience. The borders of a thousand *tatami* (mats) were edged with gold and silk. Gold figures adorned the pillars, and the same precious metal was conspicuous everywhere.

While these elaborate preparations were in progress, one of the ambassadors, weary of being confined in a Fusan fortress, and afraid that his long captivity would end in death, fled to China, suffering much on the journey. His behaviour awakened the wrath of the Emperor, and the young man was thrown into prison, his estates confiscated, and his family ruined in his downfall.

When the remaining ambassador and his imposing retinue reached Sakai it was not to enter in great state Hideyoshi's Hall of Audience, for during 1596 terrible earthquakes devastated Japan, and the Taiko's new buildings, upon which he had lavished so much wealth, were destroyed, and temples and houses were levelled to the ground throughout the city.

The message from the Emperor of China was written in Chinese, and Hideyoshi, who was very far from being a scholar, had the document translated to him by a priest who, aware of its import and how it would awaken the Taiko's anger, was too honest to give anything but a literal rendering of the remarkable letter. The message was as follows:

"The influence of the holy and divine one [Confucius] is widespread; he is honoured and loved wherever the heavens overhang and the earth upbears. The Imperial Command is universal; even for as far as the bounds of the ocean where the sun rises, there are none who do not obey it.

"In ancient times our Imperial ancestors bestowed their favours on many lands; the Tortoise knots and the Dragon were sent to the limits of far Fusang [Japan], the pure alabaster and the great seal character were granted to the mountains of the submissive country. Thereafter came billowy times when communication was interrupted, but an auspicious opportunity has now arrived, when it has pleased us again to address you.

"You, Toyotomi Taira Hideyoshi, having established an Island Kingdom, and knowing the revenue due to the Central Land, sent to the West an envoy, and with gladness and affection offered your allegiance. On the North you knocked at the barrier of the ten thousand *li*, and earnestly requested to be admitted within our dominions. Your mind is already confirmed in reverent submissiveness. How can we grudge our favour to so great meekness?

"We do therefore specially invest you with the dignity of King of Japan, and to that intent issue this our commission. Treasure it up carefully. Over the sea we send you a crown and robe so that you may follow our ancient custom as respects dress. Faithfully defend the frontier of the Empire; let it be your study to act worthily of your position as our minister; practise moderation and self-restraint; cherish

gratitude for the Imperial favour so bountifully bestowed by our admonitions ; continue always to follow our instructions.

" Respect this ! "

When the voice of the priest ceased, Hideyoshi's anger was excessive. He had expected to be honoured, not with the title of the King of Japan, a position he had already conferred upon himself, but to be acknowledged as Ming Emperor ! Instead of that he had listened to the well-oiled words of Chinese patronage. He had been rebuked like a wayward child in one line and commended for his meekness in another. The whole message was intolerable. " He became inflamed with a great anger and fury as if a legion of devils had taken possession of him. So loudly did he vociferate and perspire that vapour exhaled from his head." In a great passion he tore off the Chinese crown and robe and flung the commission on the floor. Many Japanese schoolboys are taught that the Taiko tore the document to pieces in spite of the fact that it may still be seen, in an excellent state of preservation, in the Imperial University at Tokyo ! It was with difficulty that he was prevented from attacking the ambassadors, who were unceremoniously bidden to depart with the roar of Hideyoshi's anger in their ears. So far from peace being negotiated, another invasion of Korea was inevitable.

For two years war was waged in Korea. The Korean fleet was defeated, and on land the defending army, under the Chinese Commander-in-chief Hsing-chieh, suffered considerable loss. It was in the summer of 1598, during one of the battles, that over thirty-eight thousand heads of Chinese and Korean soldiers were taken by the Japanese. The noses and ears were cut off, pickled in tubs, and dispatched to Kyoto. They were buried opposite the Daibutsu Temple. The mound concealing these gruesome trophies of war is called *Mimi-zuka* or Ear Mound, and may still be seen by those who have a taste for the grim and horrible.

In June, 1598, Hideyoshi became ill. He was aware that it was an illness from which he would not recover, and, having commanded Iyeyasu's presence, left no stone unturned to secure the succession of his son. Iyeyasu, in whom he had implicit trust, signed and sealed a written oath solemnly pledging himself to carry out his master's wishes. In Hideyoshi's last moments he grew weary of his Korean wars and became suddenly solicitous of the welfare of his soldiers. He said: "Let not the spirits of the hundred thousand troops I have sent to Korea become disembodied in a foreign land." It is recorded that he composed the following on his death-bed:—

"Ah! as the dew I fall,
As the dew I vanish.
Even Osaka fortress
Is a dream within a dream."

Hideyoshi died on September 18, 1598. He was buried on a hill called Amida-mine, behind the Daibutsu Temple, where a granite monument was erected in 1898 to commemorate the tercentenary of his death. Within recent years attempts have been made to preserve the memory of the Regent in the place of his birth, the village of Nakamura. Here will be found a shrine erected in his honour, situated in a public garden, which was laid out in 1901. A bamboo thicket, protected by an iron fence, is said to mark the site of the humble dwelling in which Hideyoshi was born, while not far from Nakamura there are many wooden statues of the Regent as well as a tree which it is claimed he planted.

The Korean wars brought no glory to Japan. Their inception had been a very great mistake. Hideyoshi had waited in his palace at Nagoya for news of victory, news that Korea had been added to his kingdom. He heard instead of the quarrels of his generals and of the terrible sufferings of his soldiers. He realised, when it was too late and only after the

sacrifice of thousands of men and the squandering of vast sums of money for military and naval purposes, that it was after all far easier to roll up a mat, to which he had so lightly referred, than to conquer Korea and China. He gained nothing but the Ear Mound, and Korean potters who came to Japan, to some of whom Satsuma faience owes its beauty and its fame. Pickled noses and ears and works of art were poor compensations. But though we must condemn Hideyoshi's foreign policy, his blunder in this respect loses its significance when compared with the unification of the Empire. In the fulfilment of this great task he must for ever take a pre-eminent position among the great makers of Japan, a solitary example of a man who rose from the peasant class to become a regent of far greater power than Yoritomo. "The tale of Hideyoshi's life," writes Mr Walter Dening, "is one of the most wonderful records of the triumph of genius over highly formidable obstacles that Japanese history contains. . . . Longer than his brilliant conquests will be remembered the indomitable spirit which sustained the great general through the whole of his eventful career. In courage, originality, fertility of resource, knowledge of human nature, generosity, and versatility of mind, Hideyoshi has among his countrymen few, if any, compeers and certainly no superiors."

CHAPTER XV

IYEYASU AND THE FOUNDING OF THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE

HIDEYOSHI had implicit confidence in Iyeyasu. He is reported to have said to two of his friends: "You need not be anxious about Iyeyasu. He will not rebel against my house. Cultivate friendship with him." There was, however, good reason for anxiety, for on the death of Hideyoshi, Iyeyasu, acting as one of the guardians of the Taiko's son, failed to justify the confidence placed in him. It soon became apparent that he was seeking his own interest and laying the foundation of his future power. He was fully aware what his predecessors Nobunaga and Hideyoshi had accomplished. At the point of the sword they had consolidated the Japanese Empire. They had sown, but only partially reaped a very considerable harvest. Iyeyasu, statesman rather than soldier, perceived that he might complete the reaping and store the harvest in the barns of a long and beneficial peace. A humorous artist depicts the situation very neatly, using as his subject the making of *mochi* cakes. Nobunaga and Mitsuhide are portrayed as pounding the glutinous cereal with a long-handled mallet, Hideyoshi as cooking the confection, and Iyeysau, who eats the cake, getting more than his share of the glory.

On the death of Hideyoshi jealousy and suspicion were rampant among many who envied Iyeyasu's power. These were strongly opposed to the adoption of a course of action that

did not support the Taiko's son. Ishida Mitsunari, assured of Iyeyasu's infidelity, laid siege to his castle at Fushimi during his absence in a neighbouring province. The Fushimi stronghold was held for Iyeyasu by Torii Mototada. At the commencement of the siege he addressed the following words to his small garrison: "I have already sent a messenger to our liege-lord informing him of our steadfast determination to hold this citadel to the last gasp. If there be any among you who loathe to die, the way is still open for such to withdraw. We are now going to hold this castle with no prospect of outside succour whatsoever, and with little more than a thousand men against a host. Let us leave our corpses in the breach for the sake of our liege, and so make ourselves examples of what faithful vassals and high-spirited samurai should be."

On August 27, 1600, the Fushimi Castle was attacked by forty thousand men. For eight days the besieging host bombarded the stronghold without success. Torii, with astounding nonchalance, spent most of his time playing *go* (checkers). There were, however, four traitors among the garrison. On September 8th they accepted money from the enemy, set fire to the castle, made an opening in the rampart, and fled. The besieging army entered the blazing castle. Loyal retainers of Torii begged their master to commit *harakiri*, believing that further resistance was useless. Torii, however, did not yield to their entreaties. He held bravely to his post as commander, telling his men that the gaining of even an hour would be of some small service to Iyeyasu. With only two hundred men he was determined to continue the fight. Time after time he succeeded in inflicting heavy losses upon the enemy. Finding that only ten men were left to him, Torii retired and sat upon a stone step within the castle. While resting a man named Saiga ran up to him flourishing a spear and prepared to strike. Torii calmly

rose from his seat and said with great dignity: "I am Torii Mototada, commandant of this castle." Saiga, impressed by these words, knelt before him and replied: "Fire has already got possession of the main citadel. All is now lost. I beg you will now commit suicide and give me your head. I shall thereby reap eternal honour!" Torii, without a word, took off his armour and disembowelled himself, and the respectful but ambitious Saiga hastily departed with the brave defender's head.

The fall of Fushimi Castle aggravated the dissension between Iyeyasu and the league, that is the supporters of Hideyori, the son of Hideyoshi. Iyeyasu realised that the time had come when he must meet his enemies and finally settle the dispute, one way or the other, on the battlefield. He accordingly assembled an army composed of men from the Eastern Provinces, while the league mustered an army at Osaka, comprising many veterans who had fought in the Korean wars, including the distinguished general, Konishi Yukinaga.

The armies met at Sekigahara ("Moor of the Barrier").[1] On this extensive plain, across which flows the River Seki no Fuji, one of Japan's greatest decisive battles was fought. To those interested in topography, a neighbouring hill is pointed out to the tourist to-day where Iyeyasu stood keenly watching the battle and issuing his orders. We have already seen in the battle of Dan-no-ura how a sudden betrayal on the part of a prominent leader affected the issue of the conflict. The league army considerably outnumbered the forces of Iyeyasu, but for some unaccountable reason more than one general of the league suddenly joined the enemy. The soldiers of the league lost heart, and, scarcely raising their

[1] The barrier of Fuwa was established at this spot by the Emperor Temmu in 673. It was a Japanese custom, in vogue until the Meiji era, to erect barriers near capitals with the idea of checking undesirable communication, originally against the incursions of barbarians.

swords to strike a blow, fled in disorder. Iyeyasu's army followed, and so great was the slaughter that over forty thousand men were slain. The battle had degenerated into a massacre, and on the battlefield is to be seen a mound called *Kubi-zuka*, where thousands of heads were buried. An American historian writes: "By this battle was decided the condition of Japan for over two centuries, the extinction of the claims of the line of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, the settlement of the Tokugawa family in hereditary succession to the Shogunate, the fate of Christianity, the isolation of Japan from the world, the fixing into permanency of the dual system and the feudalism, the glory and greatness of Yedo, and peace in Japan for two hundred and sixty-eight years."

In 1603 the Emperor Go Yozei conferred upon Iyeyasu the title of Sei-i-Tai-Shogun, a title originally borne by Yoritomo. From this date commenced the Tokugawa Shogunate, destined to remain in power until the restoration of the Emperor in 1868.

Iyeyasu was determined to establish the Shogunate in relation to the Throne on a firm basis, and to make feudalism, not a source of weakness, as it had often been in the past, but a source of strength. This far-seeing statesman perceived that the map of feudal Japan required reconstruction. "Wherever risk could be discerned," writes Captain Brinkley, "of coalitions hostile to his house, he inserted a wedge formed of his own partisans. Two hundred and thirty-seven military nobles held practically the whole of Japan in fief. One hundred and fifteen of these were Tokugawa vassals; men who owed their ranks and estates to his favour, and on whose fidelity it should have been possible to rely implicitly. He wove these two hundred and thirty-seven fiefs into a pattern such that one of the hundred and fifteen loyal threads always had a place between any two of the remainder whose fealty was doubtful or their revolt probable." While reorganising

the feudal system he was not slow to see the folly of allowing the feudatories too much power. Great lords were required to stay at Yedo every second year and leave their wives and sons there as hostages, a rule which was not relaxed until 1862. This arrangement brought them into contact with the Government and had a restraining influence upon them. While in Yedo they were required to maintain their state. They built costly mansions, passed through the streets in magnificent equipages, and were lavish generally in pandering to expensive tastes. The astute Iyeyasu encouraged this extravagance. It lightened the purse of wealthy lords and kept them harmlessly occupied, when without such diversions and such rivalries they might have turned their attention either to politics or war. Iyeyasu a little later on elaborated this principle by stating that "whenever the opulence of any noble began to attract attention, the task of carrying out some great public work should be imposed upon him." Iyeyasu was not without democratic sentiments, and he saw in the distribution of wealth a satisfactory check upon power and the maintenance of peace. He also put into practice the teaching of Yugo that "to assist the people is to give peace to the Empire."

The new capital of Yedo, the seat of the Central Government, finally surpassed the old glories of Kamakura and Kyoto. Yedo, however, was something more than a city where all the ramifications of feudalism were effectively maintained. Iyeyasu was essentially a man of peace and a patron of learning. Under his *régime* the capital became the centre of great literary activity. Literature lost something of its exclusiveness, and, wider in its application, it began to appeal to the uncultured class. Books were more accessible, and though printing in Japan dates from the eighth century, it was a slow and expensive business and employed more for the benefit of scholars than for the humble classes. But

with the use of Korean movable types Japanese printers saw before them opportunities for benefiting the masses and for reaping a rich reward themselves. As Iyeyasu was a liberal patron of the printing-press, he was in no small way responsible for the spread of literature in Yedo and elsewhere. Though the Yedo literature is much more voluminous than the Heian or classical period, with a range of subjects comprising history and biography, poetry and drama, moral discourses, fiction of a humorous, pathetic, and pornographic kind, philological works and endless commentaries on the Chinese classics, there is a lamentable falling off in literary form. Too much was attempted, and too little done really well. If there is much in the *Ise Monogatari* and *Genji Monogatari* that is gross, there is much of Yekken's work that is excellent. Who will deny his remark that "ghost stories and the like should not be told to children," or that "they should not be too warmly clad, or have too much to eat?" Equally admirable is his advice on gardening: "In planting, fruit should come first, flowers should be your next care, and foliage last of all."

In 1605 Iyeyasu abdicated in favour of his son Hidetada, and retired to Shizuoka, or, as it was formerly called, Sumpu, in the Province of Suruga. The retirement of Shoguns usually meant unabated interest in political affairs from some quiet town neither too near nor too remote from the capital. Iyeyasu continued to direct affairs of State and to use his influence for the purpose of maintaining peace throughout the Empire. It is curious to note that so far-seeing a statesman should have apparently overlooked the danger he might reasonably expect from Hideyori. He might easily have banished him. Instead of doing so Iyeyasu supplied him with money and permitted him to live with his mother Yodo in the Castle of Osaka. Yodo had been the favourite mistress

of the Taiko. Left a widow at twenty-two she was warmly devoted to her son's cause.

The battle of Sekigahara had by no means utterly crushed the cause of those who had loyally supported Hideyori. There were many feudatories who were far from being satisfied with Iyeyasu's policy of government. Shorn of property they waxed eloquent on filial piety and saw in the retired Shogun one who had set at naught Hideyoshi's wishes in regard to his son. They regarded him as a usurper, and, dissatisfied with their lot, they lost no opportunity of pointing out the futility of Hideyori's placid resignation when he had every right to hold the reins of government in his own hands. These malcontents were anxious for civil war in the hope that a victory on their side would improve their social position.

Nothing escaped the watchful attention of Iyeyasu. His spy system was excellent, and it kept him well informed in regard to everything that was going on in the Empire. No sooner had these malcontents plotted together and commenced to influence Hideyori than he became fully aware of what was taking place. He was well versed in rules and regulations and knew how to apply them for practical purposes. He had already discovered that the danger derived from opulence could be effectively checked by dispensing wealth in the harmless channel of erecting some costly public building. Hideyori was idle in his castle, and so long as he remained idle he was prone to yield to those who were advocating revolt. Iyeyasu was determined to give the young man something that would occupy his attention for some time, and what was still more important, something that would be a drain upon his financial resources and leave a purse too depleted to furnish funds for military purposes. With this object in view Iyeyasu pointed out to Hideyori that he would be perpetuating his father's memory by re-

building the Temple of the Daibutsu at Kyoto, which an earthquake had destroyed in 1596. This astute suggestion, which was really in the nature of a command, was made in 1610. Hideyori may have seen the irony of the situation, the irony of rebuilding a temple in his father's memory when a much greater glory would have been to have inherited the Taiko's power. Whether he divined Iyeyasu's object or not, he at once commenced to interest himself in the undertaking imposed upon him.

The great Temple of the Daibutsu was completed in 1614. The festival of dedication was planned on a scale worthy of so estimable a piece of work. Just as the priests had commenced to recite their liturgies and the vast concourse of people were awaiting the ceremony with considerable interest, two messengers on horseback arrived in haste from Shizuoka, and commanded that the dedication should not take place. The cause of this very dramatic incident is said to have been due to Iyeyasu's anger on learning that the great bell bore inscriptions that mocked his supremacy. The inscriptions were: "May the state be peaceful and prosperous" and "On the east it welcomes the bright moon, and on the west bids farewell to the setting sun." He read in a combination of these sentences that he had been compared with the moon and Hideyori with the all-powerful sun, in which interpretations he inferred that it was Hideyori's intention to attempt his destruction. The people, baulked of their day's pleasure, did not quietly retire in the hope of the service taking place at no distant date. They resented the unexpected interference of Iyeyasu and a serious riot took place. The infuriated country people, bent on vengeance, sacked the city. They had come to participate in a solemn service. They went back to their homes loaded with property that did not belong to them.

Two ladies, representing Yodo, and two prominent Kyoto

citizens assured Iyeyasu that no insult had been intended. But the ex-Shogun was obdurate and only agreed to pardon the alleged slight on terms that were so unreasonable and so sweeping as to lead one to suppose that Iyeyasu was determined to pick a quarrel. Iyeyasu's clemency depended upon an agreement to the following conditions: "That the Osaka Castle should be weakened by the destruction of the outer works, and that Hideyori should leave his mother in the castle and live in another province."

The rebuilding of the Daibutsu Temple had accomplished nothing in the interest of Iyeyasu. On the contrary, his stopping of the dedication service had tended to increase the anger of those who were prepared to support Hideyori. They filled the Osaka Castle, and Hideyori, assured that his position was impregnable, set at defiance the ex-Shogun's demands. Well supplied with men, provisions, and a spring of water within the stronghold, there seemed every hope of victory.

Iyeyasu's army commenced an attack upon the castle which Saris described as "marvellously large and strong." The ex-Shogun had already arranged with the Governor to betray Hideyori; but the Governor's plot was discovered, though the traitor succeeded in making his escape. It was obvious to Iyeyasu that arms were futile against so formidable a stronghold, and that he could only hope to be victorious by again resorting to treachery. Another officer yielded to the temptation to sell his honour for gold. His contemptible scheme was discovered, but this time the defenders of the castle were determined to put their knowledge of the plot to good use. Unaware that the treachery had been discovered, Iyeyasu's men advanced to the gates in the belief that the bribed officer would throw open the portals. They had no sooner reached the gates than the defenders of the castle rushed upon the enemy and Iyeyasu's men were driven

back in hopeless disorder and with considerable loss of life.

More treachery was in store for the brave defenders. Iyeyasu, pretending to recognise defeat, sued for peace. He agreed to disperse his army and leave Hideyori unmolested in future on condition that the castle moat should be filled within three weeks. Hideyori agreed to these terms and conscientiously carried out the levelling of the castle moat. Iyeyasu, however, was seeking time in which to reorganise his forces. He had by his order weakened the fortress, and it was now his intention to strengthen his army. When this was accomplished he again attacked the stronghold, but once more his forces were driven back, and so fierce was the assault of the defenders that Iyeyasu gave instructions to one of the bodyguard to cut off his head. Just at the moment when all seemed lost a fire broke out in the castle. Hideyori, seeing the conflagration, suddenly abandoned his enemies, and hastily entered the stronghold followed by his soldiers. The folly of this proceeding in the hour of victory is almost incomprehensible. The routed enemy rallied, and instead of fleeing from the defenders, suddenly turned, pressed upon Hideyori's men, and successfully entered the castle. Statements in reference to Hideyori and his mother at this juncture are conflicting, and precisely how they met their end is not known. According to one account the burning castle "became Hideyori's place of cremation." In another version we read that Yodo and her son "at the supreme moment died by their own hands." Osaka Castle was taken on June 1, 1615, and it has never been rebuilt, though enough remains to-day to tell of its former greatness.

The fall of Osaka firmly established the Tokugawa Shogunate. Iyeyasu, having ordered Hideyori's son, the child of a concubine, to be executed, returned to Shizuoka. He was

suffering from a severe wound which never healed, and on March 8, 1616, Japan's greatest ruler died. He was first buried at Kuno-zan in a shrine on a castle-like eminence close to the sea. In 1617 his earthly remains [1] were removed to Nikko, about which a Japanese proverb says: "Do not use the word magnificent till you have seen Nikko." Here amid the glories of nature and art he found his last resting-place in a mausoleum of rare beauty. He became one with the Gods in the memory of his grateful people, and was honoured with the title of *Tosho Dai-Gongen* (Light of the East and Great Incarnation). There may still be seen pictures, furniture, and other articles which he was in the habit of using, and also by the side of a gate a tree which is supposed to be identical with the one Iyeyasu carried with him in his palanquin. Divine titles are plentiful in Japan, and the title of Gogen Sama is certainly one of the most distinguished. In sharp contrast with this posthumous honour, we read in the *Yeiya Meiwa:* "Iyeyasu was a miserly man, writing a bad hand. He was small in stature, rotund and fat. A man of few words, he had an ugly mien. When he gave commands on the battlefield or when hawking he looked like a veritable war-god and his voice was then heard to a distance of seventeen or eighteen *cho*." [2] The fact remains that Iyeyasu gave peace to his country for over two hundred and fifty years. Therein lies his divinity, and more than ever do we realise to-day that peace is one of the most divine gifts.

During Iyeyasu's nominal retirement at Shizuoka, and before his attack upon Osaka Castle, he wrote what is known as the *Yuigon* or "Legacy" of Iyeyasu. Prince Shotoku in the seventh century had compiled a collection of moral maxims, but Iyeyasu's work, though this subject was dealt

[1] According to one account only a hair of his head was carried to Nikko.

[2] A little over a mile.

with, covered wider ground. The "Legacy" consists of one hundred chapters, and Professor Grigsby thus summarises their contents: "Sixteen chapters consist of moral maxims and reflections; fifty-five are connected with politics and administrations; twenty-two refer to legal matters, and in seven Iyeyasu relates episodes of his own personal history."

Iyeyasu prepared this code of laws solely for the benefit of his successors. He had seen in the past that great men such as Yoritomo, Nobunaga, and Hideyoshi, do not necessarily leave behind them men of equal strength and ability as their heirs, indeed, he had discovered that the reverse was generally the rule. He was aware that the weakness of the Hojo and Ashikaga lay in their dependence upon military strength. So long as that strength was fully maintained all went well, but as soon as effeminacy crept in, as soon as degenerates were in power, the families fell. Iyeyasu was prepared for every emergency. His one object was to so frame a series of laws that would render hereditary failure impossible. He wrote for wise men as well as for fools, and with such a profound knowledge of human nature as to render many of his observations as true to-day as when they were first written. The Tokugawa Dynasty lasted for two hundred and sixty-eight years, and that long period of beneficent rule, based on peace not war, was largely due to the remarkable statesmanship of Iyeyasu as displayed in his Legacy.

The founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate showed the instincts of a scholar in the compilation of this code of laws. He was conservative in his thought and had a profound reverence for worthy precedent. He did not attempt to make fresh laws, but to make those that already existed the more valuable by calling special attention to those that merited due regard. In Chapter xvii. we read: "In the absence of precedent, forbid the making of new ground, new water courses, and so forth, and framing of any new measures

of what kind soever. Know that disturbances always arise from such innovations."

In religious matters Iyeyasu showed tolerance. "Be diligent in paying honour and veneration to the gods" was a plea for a religious attitude of mind. Personally he favoured the Jodo[1] sect of Buddhism, but this did not prevent him from stating that "High and low alike may follow their own inclinations with respect to religious tenets which have obtained down to the present time," alone excepting Christianity. He honoured Confucius and Lao Tzu, but condemned the folly of theological disputes. "The delusions of witchcraft and superstitious arts should on no account be unquestionably accepted; but, on the other hand, they should not be forcibly and obstinately rejected" (Chapter lxxxii.). The one thing needful was to keep a pure heart and honour the gods.

In Chapter lxxxvii. we read: "When military power becomes full to overflowing, even in the absence of all ambition, the proper veneration for the 'Throne of Divine blessings' is apt to become blunted; and there arrives a tendency, as has been demonstrated in the persons of old, to remissness in respect, and oblivion of the origin of the 'Kingdom of the Gods'—the source of self-desire is apt to overflow. Such a sin is not a light one, and will be undoubtedly followed by annihilation." It was part of Iyeyasu's far-seeing scheme to render homage to the Emperor. He made it his business to increase the mystical dignity of the Sovereign. He had in view "a magnificent abstraction," and the more completely the Throne became an altar and the Emperor a veritable god upon it, the less likely was the Sovereign to trouble himself with any kind of intrigue. Iyeyasu was paying due regard to ancient tradition, but he applied it in such a way as to

[1] Those who aimed at simplification and regarded the central clause of Amida's vow as the essential basis of their faith.

make the divinity belief a safeguard against an Emperor wishing to hold the reins of State. Reverence along these lines had a paralysing effect upon the Throne, but it was a very vital and active force so far as the Tokugawa Shogunate was concerned, for it was more expedient to worship the Emperor as a god than to serve him as a king.

Concerning marriage Iyeyasu writes: "The married state is the great relation of mankind. One should not live alone after sixteen years of age, but should procure a mediator and perform a ceremony of matrimonial alliance. All mankind recognise marriage as the first law of nature" (Chapter xlvi.). While stating the number of concubines emperors, princes, high officials, and samurai may have, he points out the danger of men neglecting their true wives for loved mistresses. He writes: "In olden times the downfall of castle and the overthrow of kingdoms all proceeded from this alone." In Chapter lv. he writes: "It is a righteous and world-recognised rule that a true husband takes care of outside business, while a true wife manages the affairs of the house. When a wife occupies herself with outside affairs, her husband loses his business, and it is a pre-evidence of ruin to the house: it is as when a hen is afflicted with a propensity to crow at morn, and an affliction of which every samurai should beware. This again is an assistance in the knowledge of mankind."

Other chapters deal with the duties of the samurai; with the modes of regarding virtue and punishing crime, respecting castles and the width of "sea roads," cross-roads, and paths through fields, and even instructions in regard to the lopping of large trees that interfere with the drying of the grain. Reference is also made to the welfare of the people and matters pertaining to the Shogunate. All has been considered in this "Legacy" and set down with consummate skill. He writes: "It is no easy matter to make one's practice con-

form to what one preaches; so that it is incumbent to face one's own self, and investigate each particle of conduct with grinding torture." He admits to being a "transmitter" and not a "framer" of laws, and he also confesses that he was not "in the slightest degree influenced by selfish motives; but have rather embodied the foregoing chapters as an example, which, although it may not hit the mark, will not be very far wide." His last chapter concludes thus: "Let not future generations be induced to ridicule me as having the heart of a venerable old grandmother." No one is likely to associate Japan's greatest statesman with "a venerable old grandmother." His rules of conduct were framed with so much wisdom, so much insight, that they "hit the mark" for more than two and a half centuries.

CHAPTER XVI

CHRISTIANS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

After the death of Hideyoshi the Christians not only enjoyed freedom from persecution for a few years, but the priests were most successful in gaining fresh adherents. As many as seventy thousand converts were baptized in 1599–1600, and this success was largely due to the fact that Iyeyasu was at first too fully occupied in affairs of State to pay much attention to the growth of Christianity.

Jesuits no longer had the monopoly of missionary labour in Japan. Owing to a Bull of Pope Paul V., Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians supplemented the work of the Society of Jesus, but not without a certain amount of friction. The increase in priests brought about a further increase in the number of converts. In 1607 Iyeyasu, alarmed at the rapid spread of Christianity, issued a proclamation in which he stated that for the good of the country Christians must recant and no fresh converts flock to the new religion. Hitherto Masses had been celebrated in private, but in spite of Iyeyasu's edict Nagasaki, the great Christian stronghold, was the scene of an imposing religious procession in celebration of the founder of the Society of Jesus. Public ceremonies of this kind were strictly forbidden, and certain Christians at Court, who had accepted bribes in connection with this religious festival, were exiled and their estates confiscated.

The Dutch came to Japan solely for business purposes,

and bitter rivalry existed between these traders and the Spaniards and Portuguese. The Japanese had hitherto learnt to associate foreign trade with religion, and as the new doctrine was beginning to awaken ill-feeling, they were not sorry to have an opportunity of dealing with merchants who were simply concerned with commerce and had no religious or political axe to grind. The Dutch were not slow to appreciate Japan's growing dislike of the Portuguese and Spaniards, neither were they slow to take full advantage of it. The Dutch spread the report that the landing of armies in the Philippines indicated a subsequent attack upon Japan, while the action of a Spanish sea captain who took harmless soundings in some of the Japanese harbours was represented to herald the approach of Spanish warships.

At Nagasaki in 1609 there was a drunken brawl between Portuguese and Japanese sailors, and men were killed on both sides. Iyeyasu, on hearing of the incident, refused to regard the matter justly. The Portuguese were Christians, and as such must suffer for their folly. He gave orders that the Portuguese sailors should be put to death, and the Prince of Arima, a Christian, had the unpleasant task of seeing that the instructions were properly carried out. In the meantime, the Portuguese captain, hearing of the ex-Shogun's intentions, put to sea with his crew. Approaching the harbour mouth the wind suddenly dropped and the vessel was brought to a standstill. Here it remained for two days, and was attacked by Japanese boats, one of which kept up a heavy fire. The Portuguese, outmanœuvred, attempted to throw a fire-ball on the Japanese tower ship, but the ball miscarried and set on fire the Portuguese vessel. The captain promptly blew up his ship, and of those who swam in the sea not one was spared. The spot is known to this day as "the place for burning foreign ships." The Prince of Arima, though he had shown no Christian spirit of mercy, had faith-

fully carried out Iyeyasu's orders, but these services did not prevent him from being banished and executed two years later. His death was unhappily followed by the burning of Christians in Arima who yielded gladly to the flames rather than renounce their faith.

A Buddhist priest in 1614 observes that the Christian missionaries " have come to Japan, *not* in order to promulgate their religion, but with a view to possess themselves of the country. Japan has two State religions, and has no need of a third ; therefore this new religion should be stamped out." That was certainly Iyeyasu's opinion too, for on January 27, 1614, he issued his first edict of the expulsion of the Christians. All Christian priests, whether Japanese or European, were ordered to leave the country, their churches were to be pulled down and their adherents to renounce their faith. In this Edict we read :

" Japan is called the land of Buddha, and not without reason. It is written : ' This is the country where the divine brightness reappears, this is the native land of the sun.' . . .

" But the Kirishitan [Christian] band have come to Japan, not only sending their merchant vessels to exchange commodities, but also longing to disseminate an evil law, to overthrow right doctrine, so that they may change the government of the country, and obtain possession of the land. This is the germ of great disaster, and must be crushed. . . .

" Though one may desire to keep down evil, it accumulates with ease ; though one desire to advance in good, it is difficult to hold by ; and thus a watch must be kept. In the present life it is so, and in the next not even all the Buddhist past, present and to come, can save from the reproaches of the King of Hell, nor can the successive generations of our ancestors succour us. Fear and tremble !

" The faction of the Bateran [Portuguese] rebel against this dispensation ; they disbelieve in the way of the gods, and

blaspheme the true Law, violate right-doing and injure the good. If they see a condemned fellow, they run to him with joy, bow to him and do him reverence. This they say is the essence of their belief. If this is not an evil Law, what is it? They truly are the enemies of the gods and of Buddha. If this be not speedily prohibited, the safety of the State will assuredly be hereafter imperilled; and if those who are charged with ordering its affairs do not put a stop to the evil, they will expose themselves to Heaven's rebuke.

"These must be instantly swept out, so that not an inch of soil remains to them in Japan on which to plant their feet, and if they refuse to obey this command they shall suffer the penalty. . . . .

"Quickly cast out the evil Law, and spread our true Law more and more; for the way of the gods and the Law of Buddha to prosper in spite of the degeneracy of these latter days is the mark of a good ruler. Let Heaven and the Four Seas hear this and obey." [1]

The Edict was accompanied by fifteen rules for the guidance of the priesthood.

On October 25, 1614, about three hundred Japanese and European priests were assembled at Nagasaki and sent in very unseaworthy junks to Manila and Macao. The expulsion, however, was not complete, for eighteen fathers and nine brothers, anxious to minister to their converts, concealed themselves in forest and cave. They were hunted fugitives, flying from hiding-place to hiding-place, suffering cold and hunger, but bearing all without a murmur for the sake of their faith. Rewards were offered for their capture, but there were none who would betray them. From time to time fresh missionaries were smuggled into the country in spite

[1] Translated by Sir Ernest Satow. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. vi. pt. 1.

of Dutch privateers, who eagerly joined in this ignoble persecution in the hope of currying favour with the Japanese Government.

It must be borne in mind that Iyeyasu, immediately after the publication of his Edict, did not adopt extreme measures until he found that more clement methods failed. He first of all instructed his officials to persuade Christians to recant, and these officials would have been content with an outward renunciation of the converts' faith. Stakes set up on the execution ground so far from intimidating the Christians simply added to their spiritual joy. They themselves set up stakes in front of their houses as a sign that the fire of martyrdom could not quench the enduring fire of their faith.

Iyeyasu was succeeded by his son the Shogun Hidetada (1605–1623). He carried out the persecution of the Christians with terrible vigour. In Mathia Tanner's *History of the Martyrs of Japan* we find many engravings depicting the burnings, crucifixions, and other tortures endured by the Christians in Japan. Unfortunately the Jesuit accounts were not overstated, for their descriptions of the horrors of those days agree with Japanese records. All the devilry of Asiatic torture was let loose, and all the unspeakable horror of the Chinese hells became a reality. Christians were hurled from precipices, buried alive, torn asunder by oxen, tied in rice-bags and set on fire. Others were confined in cages and allowed to starve before a tempting dish of food set outside the bars of their prison, and some suffered the agony of sharp spikes driven under the nails of their hands and feet. Slow death was the object of their persecutors, and in their lust for torture they devised such fiendish methods of inflicting pain that it seems almost impossible that such devices should have sprung from a human brain.

Hidetada, tyrant though he was, sent Ibi Masayoshi to Europe in order that he might obtain accurate information

in regard to Christianity. He was absent seven years, and when he returned to Japan, probably in 1622, he was summoned to the Palace in order to make his report. Masayoshi's harangue was a lengthy one, and we are told that Hidetada listened to him for a day and a night with so much interest that he allowed nothing to interfere with the discourse until it finally came to an end. Some of his courtiers remonstrated, pointing out that the Shogun was injuring his health by such close attention. Hidetada replied: "You speak of my fatigues, gentlemen; but what is that in comparison with the fatigues—I will rather say sufferings, the privations, and the dangers—that Ibi Masayoshi has not feared to face in the faithful discharge of his mission?" From the information Hidetada received he gathered that Christianity in Europe was in no way dissimilar to Christianity in Japan. In the West and in the East it was, as his father had described it, "the germ of great disaster." All doubts were swept aside, and he saw in the Christian religion the formidable power of Rome, a power that threatened the integrity of his country. With a clear conscience he redoubled his efforts and increased, if that were possible, the horrors of his persecution. He regarded the Spanish priests with ever-growing suspicion, and looked upon them as the "harbingers of a Spanish conquest." His fears were based upon indisputable facts. It was his duty to serve his country, and when he saw Japan in jeopardy, he could not apparently discriminate between the peaceful Christian faith and the political propaganda that unfortunately accompanied it and which was the cause of all those persecutions in Japan.

It was in and around Nagasaki that the persecution of the Christians was most severe. In 1622 two Spanish priests, and with them nearly one hundred and thirty men, women, and children, were put to death, and in the following year a hundred more met a similar fate. They died rejoicing in

their martyrdom, speaking words of cheer to their brethren. At night, under shelter of the darkness, many Christians went to the place of execution and reverently carried away charred fragments of the martyrs, regarding them as precious relics capable of performing miracles. Those in authority objected to such a proceeding. We are told that "Three days after the Great Martyrdom, by order of the Governor, all the bodies, with images, rosaries, and all objects of religion seized among the Christians, were cast together into a great pit, as pestiferous objects. A thing unheard of hitherto, but which was to be the case at all the future martyrdoms, they threw into this pit a bed of charcoal, the *débris* of the stakes and of the ashes, a layer of the bodies of the decapitated, a layer of wood; then they piled on all the objects of religion and set fire to the mass. It burned for two days. Then they collected the ashes, and even the earth soaked with the blood-shed. The ashes and this earth were put into straw sacks, and they were sent to be scattered on the open sea. Afterwards the boatmen were made to strip and bathe, to wash the bags and even the boats, so that no dust or any other vestige might remain after this great holocaust."

Many were the prayers offered up by the afflicted Christians in the hope of appeasing the wrath of Heaven, or of softening the hearts of their persecutors. Many austerities, fasts, and penitential exercises were performed in the belief that God would see fit to lessen the trials of those who served Him. Infants at their mothers' breast were only fed once a day in the hope that their pitiful cries would win peace for the Christian Church in Japan. Martyrs were said to pronounce the Name of Christ and Mary after their heads were cut off, and many other miraculous events are recorded of those who died for their faith; but in spite of these things, and in spite of ceaseless supplications, the bitter persecution, so far from abating, continued to rage with greater fury.

M. Pagès writes: "Several ladies who had made the vow of chastity practised *la vie commune* under the conduct of one of their number, Julia Naito. . . . These ladies offered a victorious resistance to humiliating trials. It was proclaimed that they were to be promenaded nude through the whole city. They at once caused nine of the youngest and of the most beautiful to be concealed in places of security; the other nine betook themselves to prayer and awaited the hour of combat. Bags of rice-straw were brought, and they were put into them; then they were suspended in pairs on poles, and promenaded in this way, in the midst of the insults of some and of the blessings of others." Other women, denuded of clothing, were compelled to crawl along the streets on their hands and knees, to receive the buffets and coarse gibes of the people.

The persecutors were ever planning fresh methods of torture, "which only the ingenuity of hell could have devised." Christians were plunged into boiling sulphur springs after their bodies had been cut in order to increase the agony. Others were immersed in ice-cold water and allowed to freeze to death. In addition there was roasting alive, beating with clubs, and branding.

In 1633 a still more fiendish torture was devised, known as the torment of the fosse or pit. By the side of a hole six feet deep and three in diameter a post with a projecting arm was erected. A victim was tightly bound with rope in order to check the circulation of blood and suspended from the wooden arm head downwards into the pit. In this hole he was left, with one hand free with which he could make a sign if he wished to recant. "Soon blood began to ooze from the mouth, the nose, and the ears. For most death came only at the end of two, three, and even six days. Care was taken to bleed victims in the temples of the head, to prevent a too rapid congestion and to prolong pain."

According to Hildreth the pit was "closed by two boards which fitted together around the victim so as to exclude the light and air," but this is scarcely likely to have been a general practice, for the sole aim of the torturer was to lengthen the agony as much as possible.

It must be said to the honour of those Christian martyrs that very few recanted. Their bravery and enthusiasm are all the more remarkable because many of the native converts were ignorant of the principal tenets of Christianity. Many could not have read the Bible even if it had been translated for them, and a number of converts could only repeat the Lord's Prayer and the *Ave Maria*. But these humble folk, poor in this world's goods and by no means intelligent, were yet filled with the faith of their Master so that they died with a heroism that is beyond praise.

There is one notable case of recantation. Father Christopher Ferreyra, an aged Portuguese missionary, recanted after he had endured five hours of terrible suffering in the pit. When he was removed from the fosse he was put in prison for some time, and here he imparted information likely to lead to the detection of his late brethren. On being released from prison he assumed a Japanese name, adopted the dress and customs of the country, and was compelled to marry a wealthy Japanese woman, widow of a Chinese goldsmith. The marriage of Father Ferreyra, who had been the administrator of the bishopric, was not regarded as valid by the Jesuits. They spread the report that their brother repented of his apostasy and perished nobly in the fosse where weakness had hitherto seized him. Unfortunately this story is not consistent with the facts of the case, but if Father Ferreyra failed in the terrible trial he was forced to endure, it does not lessen the glory of the many who suffered all things for their faith.

At about this time a trial known as *E-fumi*, or trampling

on the cross, was instituted. Pictures of the sacred symbol were painted on paper. These were not found sufficiently durable, and wooden crosses were substituted. In 1660 Yusa, an engraver of Nagasaki, fashioned bronze crosses with a figure of Christ upon them. Christians, whether heads of houses, servants, or even children unable to walk without support, were required to stand upon these crosses. Their names were recorded by the secretary of the inquisitor, and the list sealed by the head of the household was handed over to the Governor. Those who refused to have anything to do with what Kaempfer describes as "this detestable solemnity" were put to some kind of torture, which, failing to cause recantation, ended in death. Some of these metal crosses are now preserved in the Tokyo Museum.

In the Province of Arima the newly-instituted Daimyo forced the old retainers of his predecessor to become farmers, an indignity which the samurai very naturally resented. Those who were unable to pay the heavy taxes were dressed in straw rain-coats, securely bound, and set on fire. When the Daimyo's son occupied his father's office the tyranny increased, and the samurai farmers rose against their lord.

The Christians had hitherto borne their sufferings without an attempt at concerted resistance, but the Arima rebellion gave them an opportunity to avenge those who had died so nobly for their faith. Great excitement prevailed among the Christians in the village of Onoike, in the Island of Amakusa, where over nine thousand converts assembled under the leadership of Shiro Tokisada. Ashizuka, another prominent figure, led the insurgents to Shimabara, where, joined by many other Christians, they occupied the castle of the town and secured provisions, arms and ammunition for a long siege.

At that time Iyemitsu was Shogun, and although he did much to extend the capital and was regarded as one of the greatest of the Tokugawa, he had all the bitter enmity against

the Christians which marked his predecessors. He realised the gravity of this new rebellion and was determined to crush it at all cost. Under the leadership of Itakura Naizen the besieging army numbered 160,000 men. The attack on the Castle of Shimabara commenced on December 31, 1637.

In spite of repeated attacks no breach was made in the castle walls, and the commander-in-chief of the besieging army sent to the Dutch at Hirado for assistance. The Dutch promptly supplied the opposing army with gunpowder and guns, but with these munitions the castle still remained intact. On February 19, 1638, Koeckebacker, the head of the Dutch factory, was asked to send one of his vessels in order to bombard the castle. Koeckebacker, so far from regarding compliance as an act of infamy, saw the opportunity of increasing the wealth of his Company by winning the favour of the Japanese Government. He desired the increase of trade, and it mattered not that fellow Christians paid the price so long as he attained his object. He speedily set sail in the *de Ryp*, anchored off Shimabara, and commenced bombarding the castle. Within fifteen days over four hundred cannon balls were discharged without affording any advantage to the besieging army. On the 12th of March the *de Ryp* retired from action and returned to Hirado. A month later the castle, with crosses on its walls, was taken. A terrible massacre followed and many were hurled into the sea.

The massacre of the Christians in Shimabara Castle marks the death-blow of Christianity in Old Japan. Many Christians remained, but they were extremely poor and without a priest to guide them. Yet they held to their faith in private even if they were called upon to abjure their religion in public. In spite of persecution, edicts against "the corrupt sect," and the diligence of the Christian Commissioners, there were many men and women found after two hundred and fifty years who had preserved the teaching of Christ. It was not until

1872 that the persecution of the Christians ceased and people were free to adopt any faith without molestation from the Government.

The persecution of the Christians is a dark chapter in the history of Japan, but we repeat that such a persecution would never have taken place had it not been for the fact that Christianity in that country was linked with political intrigue, and as such was a menace to the Empire. Mr Murdoch writes: "To find fault with a nation for being determined to maintain its political integrity and independence is at once unreasonable and unjust; to refuse to accord our meed of respect to the Christian missionaries in their devotion to what they conceived to be their duty would, on the other hand, be ungenerous. The persecution was a duel to the death between Christians, priests resolved to carry out the command of the Founder of their religion, and of Japanese equally resolute to preserve the independence of their country."

CHAPTER XVII

THE DUTCH TRADERS AND WILL ADAMS

DURING the final persecution of the Christians in Japan foreign trade prospered. There was, as we have already stated, considerable rivalry, indeed bitter hatred, between the Dutch traders and those from Portugal and Spain. In 1609 the Dutch established a factory at Hirado, known as Firando by old mariners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and separated from Kyushu by a narrow channel called Spex Straits.

The Dutch, who received a patent for carrying on their trade, were whole-hearted traders. Unlike the Portuguese and Spaniards they did not combine business with religion. They saw the folly of such a combination and were fully aware that the Japanese Government regarded such a combination with growing disfavour. Unfortunately they were ready to adopt any method, however ignoble, provided it served to increase their wealth. On the *Cape of Good Hope*, a Portuguese vessel, they claimed to have discovered letters written by a Japanese Christian and addressed to the King of Portugal. Kaempfer, who had not taken the trouble to investigate the matter, writes: "The letters disclosed a plot which the Japanese Christians had formed, in conjunction with the Portuguese, against the life of the Shogun, and to bring Japan into subjection to Portugal [Spain]; the want they stood in of ships and soldiers, the names of Japanese princes concerned in the conspiracy,

and, lastly, their hopes to receive the papal blessing. This discovery by the Dutch was afterwards confirmed by another letter from the same writer to the Portuguese Governor at Macow [Macao], which was intercepted and brought to Japan by a Japanese ship. Considering this and the suspicions which the Court had already then conceived against the Portuguese, it was no difficult matter thoroughly to ruin the little credit and favour they had as yet been able to preserve, the rather since, the Imperial order notwithstanding, they did not leave off privately to bring over more ecclesiastics."

These letters were presented to the Japanese authorities, and the writer who denied the crime, was arrested and buried alive. As a matter of fact the letters were forgeries. They were written by the Dutch with a view to safeguarding their own trade interests. It was a shameful act which Professor Longford rightly describes "as one of the most cold-blooded incidents of perfidy that the world has seen." But the Dutch were wholly unscrupulous, and this incident is only equalled by the part they played in the revolt of Shimabara.

In 1637 Iyemitsu, the third of the Tokugawa Shoguns, issued an edict forbidding all foreigners to come to Japan, and prohibiting Japanese to leave their own country. The Portuguese held their ground for a short time, but in 1639 they were finally deported. In the following year four Portuguese grandees, accompanied by a retinue, came to Nagasaki, as ambassadors, in the hope of revoking so stringent a measure against their countrymen. But Iyemitsu, thanks to the successful intrigue of the Dutch, was obdurate. The ambassadors were beheaded on the "Mountain of Martyrs" and with them their retinue, with the exception of thirteen persons who were allowed to return to Macao in order that they might recount the fate of those who had perished in their attempt to conclude a treaty with Japan. Before they departed the significance of the lesson was driven home by

reading the following notice over the graves of their countrymen: "For the future, let none, so long as the Sun illuminates the world, presume to sail to Japan, not even in the quality of ambassadors, and this declaration is never to be revoked on pain of death." Thus was Iyemitsu's edict ratified in the blood of Portuguese.

The Dutch, by practices that must be for ever condemned, attained their object. They had succeeded in ousting their rivals and had foreign trade entirely in their hands. But though the Japanese rewarded their perfidy, they did so with no delusions as to the unscrupulous methods these foreigners had adopted. In their hearts they despised the Dutch as traitors. They distrusted their humility, their fawning, their dogged determination to maintain their trade at all cost. "In short," writes Kaempfer, "our humble, obliging conduct notwithstanding, we were so far from bringing this proud and jealous nation to any greater confidence or more intimate friendship, that on the contrary their jealousy and mistrust seemed to increase in proportion to the many proofs of faithfulness and sincerity we gave them, and that the better we deserved of them the more they seemed to hate and despise us."

The Japanese set no value upon Dutch "faithfulness." While acccepting their help against the Christians they had seen too clearly what that faithfulness implied. They realised that Dutch humility was an insidious and important part of their trade. Iyemitsu was determined to restrict their enterprise now he had no longer any need of their assistance. Their prosperous factory at Hirado was destroyed and they were interned in Deshima, the artificial Front Island, connected by a single bridge with Nagasaki. This island, in shape like "a fan without a handle," is only six hundred feet in length and two hundred and forty feet in breadth. Here the Dutch were imprisoned, and, in order

to make their seclusion more sure and to restrict their contact with the outside world, the island was enclosed with boards that supported a roof. In spite of the fact that they were rigidly guarded, that warning notices were displayed on posts in the sea near the island, the Dutch managed to carry on a profitable business. No less than eighty tons of gold and many chests of silver were exported as the result of trading with the Japanese in 1641. Even though the business declined with further restrictions, profits continued at the rate of eighty to ninety per cent., irrespective of the highly remunerative trade carried on by private members for their personal emolument.

Once a year the head of the Dutch factory at Deshima and a few of his subordinates were required to go to the capital in order to pay homage to the Shogun and to offer gifts from the Company. The ceremony seems to have been anything but formal, for these Dutch traders were looked upon by the Court as buffoons. According to Kaempfer, who must have recorded the scene with anything but pleasure, these solemn Dutchmen were required to sit upright, to take off their cloaks, to give their names and age, "to walk, to turn about, to dance, to sing songs, to compliment one another, to be angry, to invite one another to dinner, to converse, to discourse in a familiar way like father and son, to show how two friends or man and wife compliment or take leave of one another, to play with children, to carry them about upon our arms, and to do many more things of like nature. Then again we were commanded to read and to dance, separately and jointly. We were then further commanded to put on our hats, and to walk about the room discoursing with one another, to take off our perukes. Then I was desired once more to come nearer to the screen, and to take off my peruke. Then they made us jump, dance, play gambols, and walk together. Then they made us kiss

one another, like man and wife, which the ladies particularly showed by their laughter to be well pleased with. They desired us further to show them what sorts of compliments it was customary in Europe to make to inferiors, to ladies, to superiors, to princes, to kings. After which they begged another song of me."

We must now deal with the romantic story of Will Adams, the first Englishman to visit Japan. He was born in 1574, "in a town called Gillingham, two English miles from Rochester, one mile from Chatham, where the King's ships doe lye." When he was twelve years old he went to Limehouse and was apprenticed to Master Nicholas Diggins, with whom he learnt the shipwright's craft.

Having served his apprenticeship he was engaged by the Indian Company as major pilot of a fleet of five vessels intended for "Indish traffick." He sailed from Texel in Holland in the *De Liefde*, or "Loving Charity," on June 24, 1598. It was a most unfortunate voyage. The crews were afflicted with scurvy, from which many of the sailors died. Their vessels were driven to the coast of Guinea, by which time the food was exhausted and the men were compelled to "eat the calves' skins wherewith the ropes were covered." In April, 1599, they reached the Straits of Magellan, where they were forced to remain for six months, enduring almost antarctic weather. In the Pacific misfortune still dogged these persistent adventurers, for off the coast of Chili they were attacked by natives and many of their officers, including Thomas, the brother of Will Adams, were killed. One vessel was captured by Spaniards, and another was seized and run into one of the Sandwich Islands. The ship was wrecked and most of the men probably eaten by cannibals. Only two, out of the original fleet of five vessels, now remained. One of the crew, Dick Gerrilson by name, advised those in command to make for Japan, where they

could advantageously dispose of their cargoes. His advice was readily accepted, but during the voyage one of the vessels disappeared and only the *Liefde* was able to continue her voyage. So great was the suffering on board owing to scurvy, which was such a scourge to mariners in those days, that Adams tells us that " there were no more but five men of us able to go or creep upon their knees."

The *Liefde* reached the Province of Bungo, on the north-east coast of Kyushu, April 11, 1600, at a time, as Mr Arthur Diósy[1] reminds us, when " the cherry-blossom was covering the hillsides with its delicate beauty." The Governor treated the mariners with kindness. A house was set at their disposal and the sick were provided with limes, lemons, and green food as an antidote for scurvy. In the meantime the arrival of the *Liefde* had caused considerable excitement among the inhabitants of the district. They went aboard the vessel and carried away all portable objects as souvenirs. An attempt was made by the Daimyo of the province to restore these articles, but they were so widely scattered that the task proved unsuccessful. Later, however, those who had been deprived of their goods received " 50,000 Rs. in ready money " by way of compensation.

Nine days after the *Liefde* had reached Japan Will Adams and one of the crew were commanded to appear before the Shogun, who was then at the Castle of Osaka. The account of the interview is vividly described in one of his letters.[2]

For over forty days Adams was kept a prisoner at Osaka and hourly expected to be put to death. Iyeyasu, however, had no such intention. The honesty of this simple sailor had appealed to him, and it was to the Shogun's advantage to

[1] *The Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, vol. vi.

[2] Will Adams's letters, which are of considerable interest, have been published by the Hakluyt Society.

spare his life. He saw that this Englishman might become useful to him at a time when he was in need of sound advice in regard to his dealings with troublesome foreigners, and especially those who sought trade privileges. It was at this time that Adams was able to put his knowledge of the shipwright's craft to good use. He built for the Shogun two vessels of the English type, one of eighty and the other of one hundred and seventy tons. These he navigated off the coast of Japan, and also visited Siam, Cochin China, and the Luchu Islands.

The services rendered by Will Adams did not go unrewarded. He was given an estate at Hemi near Yokosuka, and it is evident that this property pleased him, which he describes as "a living like unto a lordship in England, with eighty or ninety husbandmen that be as my slaves or servants." He wore Japanese dress and was granted the distinction of wearing two swords. He was popularly known among the Japanese as "*Anjin Sama*" ("Mr Pilot"). In addition to his estate he probably had a residence at Yedo, for in that city there is still a street called *Anjin-cho*, or "Pilot Street."

In spite of the favours Adams received from the Shogun he longed to return to England in order to see his wife and children. In 1605 he entreated the Shogun to give him permission to leave Japan. His request was not granted, but Iyeyasu allowed the captain of the *Liefde* to make the journey, and to him this homesick pilot entrusted many tender messages for Mistress Adams.

Though Adams was certainly anxious about his wife, and sent her money from time to time, his reference to her as "in a manner a widow" and his "two children fatherless" are not sufficiently poignant to draw tears from those who are acquainted with the facts of the case. Adams was a sailor, and with something of a sailor's light-heartedness, he

made the best of a bad business and consoled himself by marrying a Japanese woman by whom he had several children.

When the Dutch vessels, the *Red Lion* and *Griffon*, arrived at Hirado in 1609, a deputation was sent to the capital, and, according to Adams, was favourably received. They were entrusted with a letter to the "King of Holland," in which it was promised "that they (your subjects), in all places, countries, and islands under mine obedience, may traffic and build homes serviceable and needful for their trade and merchandise, where they may trade without any hinderance at their pleasure, as well as in time to come as for the present, so that no man shall do them any wrong. And I will maintain and defend them as mine own subjects."

It is said that the *Red Lion* brought back news of Adams's eventful life in Japan. If this is true, we may be sure that news contained a reference to the favours this sailor had received from the Shogun as well as his usefulness in negotiating trade matters. In January, 1611, the London East India Company dispatched the *Clove* under the command of Captain John Saris, who carried with him a letter from James I. While at Bantam he learnt that Adams's first letter had been received by English merchants, and, thus encouraged, that experienced adventurer in the East continued his voyage to Japan with every hope of meeting with success. The *Clove* reached Hirado, June 11, 1613, and, being hospitably received by the Daimyo, Captain Saris, accompanied by a few of his officers, journeyed to the ex-Shogun Iyeyasu. The visit, thanks to the kindly offices of Will Adams, was successful, and the Company received the privilege of trading in any Japanese port. In Iyeyasu's felicitous letter to the King of England (James I.), we learn what those privileges were, though it is curious to note that

he should have forgotten that Will Adams, and not John Saris, was the first Englishman to come to Japan. The letter is as follows :

" Your Majesty's kind letter, sent me by your servant, Captain John Saris (who is the first that I have known to arrive in any part of my dominions), I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to understand of your great wisdom and power, as having three plentiful and mighty kingdoms under your powerful command. I acknowledge your Majesty's great bounty in sending me so undeserved a present of many rare things, such as my land affordeth not, neither have I ever before seen ; which I receive not as from a stranger, but as from your Majesty, whom I esteem as myself. Desiring the continuance of friendship with your highness, and that it may stand with your good liking to send your subjects to any part or port of my dominions, where they shall be most heartily welcome, applauding much their worthiness, in the admissible knowledge of navigation, having with much facility discovered a country so remote, being no whit amazed with the distance of so mighty a gulf, nor greatness of such infinite clouds and storms from prosecuting honourable enterprises of discoveries and merchandising, wherein they shall find me to further them according to their desires. I return unto your Majesty a small token of my love (by your said subject), desiring you to accept thereof as from one that much rejoiceth in your friendship. And whereas your Majesty's subjects have desired certain privileges for trade and settling of a factory in my dominions, I have not only granted what they demand, but have confirmed the same unto them under my broad seal, for better establishing thereof."

In spite of such a friendly reception Saris does not seem to have been the right man to establish British trade in Japan. He sadly misused the opportunities afforded him.

While acknowledging his qualities and his deftness with the pen, Mr Murdoch describes him as "a mere dollar-grinding Philistine . . . a good man spoiled from having had to take up trade of a merchant skipper, whose then use and wont was to address his subordinates in the tone of a God Almighty delivering himself to a black-beetle." His chief fault, however, was his inability to appreciate the sound judgment of Will Adams. Adams was conversant with Dutch trade, since he had done much to foster it, and he did his utmost to persuade the obstinate Saris to open a factory on the Gulf of Yedo. Had he done so he would have experienced no rivalry from the Dutch and Portuguese and but little competition from the Spaniards. Moreover, the establishing of a factory in such a position would have considerably curtailed the heavy expenses of making periodic visits to the Shogun. Saris examined the harbour of Uraga, and having done so, ignored Adams's sound advice, and built a factory at Hirado, where the Dutch were already established. He could not have chosen a more unfortunate site. The Dutch immediately undersold their English rivals and Saris's factory was doomed to failure from the start and might fittingly be known as "Saris's Folly."

Adams entered the Company's service at a yearly salary of £100, a sum very grudgingly given by Saris. He had no high opinion of Adams's character or business capacity. This is evident from the "memorandum" written by Saris after the contract was signed, "for the guidance of Richard Cocks in the management of the factory." In this we read: "And for Mr Adams he is only fit to be master of the junk, and to be used as linguist at Court, when we have no employment for him at sea. It is necessary you stir him, his condition being well known unto you as to myself; otherwise you shall have little service of him, the country afford-

ing greater liberty, whereunto he is much affected. . . . In any hand let him not have the disbursing of any money of the Company's either for junks or otherwise; for his usual speeches is so large and his resolution so set upon getting. I entreat you, he may always have one to pay out and to write the particulars of what is disbursed in all matters as you shall employ him in."

The English factory at Hirado, under the control of Richard Cocks after Saris's return to England, was very far from being a success and for reasons which we have already stated. After a struggle of ten years the factory was closed in 1623. The loss is sometimes given as £40,000, but this is incorrect; the actual loss entailed was something between £5,000 and £10,000. It was rather ironical that the English factory, after a most precarious existence, should have been closed down in 1623, for it was in this year that the Dutch President wrote: "In one voyage to Japan above 76 per cent. may be gained; sufficient to buy up all the returns needful for Europe." Had Saris been wise enough to accept the advice of Adams, instead of regarding him with suspicion, the story of the commencement of English trade in Japan would have differed very considerably from the tale we have already told.

Will Adams died May 6, 1620, loved and respected by all those who met that kindly honest soul, with perhaps the exception of Saris and Cocks, who certainly misunderstood him. His grave and that of his Japanese wife are situated on a hill at Hemi, and the spot is known to the Japanese as *Anjin-zuka*. The tombs are of stone, and while Adams's monument is without an inscription, that of his wife's bears the Buddhist posthumous title. "There," writes Mr Diósy, "amidst lovely scenery, rest the ashes of one who was, at all events, a good Briton, and very probably a great Briton; a man who never did aught in Japan to disgrace his country's

flag; a man who, on the contrary, taught the Japanese much that was good and useful—a man who taught them how to build ships in the European way, and indeed may well be said to have founded that glorious Japanese Navy. . . ."

CHAPTER XVIII

COMMODORE PERRY AND TREATIES WITH FOREIGN POWERS

HENRY FIELDING, in *Tom Jones*, observes that "When any extraordinary scene presents itself (as we trust will often be the case), we shall spare no pains nor paper to open it at large to our reader; but if whole years should pass without producing anything worthy his notice, we shall not be afraid of a chasm in our history; but shall hasten on to matters of consequence, and leave such periods of time totally unobserved." This is an excellent arrangement, and it is because the eighteenth century in Japan contains little of marked historical interest that we propose to leave it entirely unrecorded in these pages. Japan's doors were closed against the outside world. Even wrecked Japanese sailors, who were brought back to their country by Russians, were not allowed to remain on their native soil. They had disobeyed the Shogun's edict, and in so doing were regarded as aliens and were forced to leave Japan. It is not to be wondered that, with such rigid seclusion, nothing of great moment took place in a country so completely isolated. When Ama-terasu had been offended by her brother, the Impetuous Male, she retired to a rock-cavern and closed the mouth with a great stone. Myth had now repeated itself in history. The Tokugawa Shogunate, having discovered the political machinations of Christian missionaries, feared and hated the very name of foreigner. The Shoguns, in order to protect their country closed, as it were, the *amado* (storm-doors), assured

that this was the only means of safeguarding the Japanese Empire.

Many came, from England, America, Russia, to tap politely upon those closed doors. Ranald McDonald in 1845 succeeded in teaching the language of Will Adams to a number of Japanese, and in the winter-time his cage at Nagasaki became "a house of reception, lit with wax candles on low square stands. Men of all orders came to see and talk with the first teacher of English in Japan." McDonald had the distinction of establishing a school of interpreters who, when the time came, were able to render valuable service to Biddle (1846), Glyn (1849), and Perry (1853).

Biddle and Glyn were not successful in breaking down Japan's seclusion. Their policy had been to humour the Japanese, and this policy had proved a dismal failure. America, however, did not despair of finally effecting a friendly entry into Japan, and that entry was to be brought about, not by force if it could be avoided, but by power and dignity, a quiet determination not to accept No to a very reasonable proposition.

America's negotiations with Japan were due to several causes, among which we may mention the whale fishery in the Pacific Ocean, the discovery of gold in California, and the opening of China to foreign trade by the opium war. The steam-vessels of those days were small, and their bunkers could not contain a supply of coal sufficient for a long voyage. It was intended to run vessels from San Francisco to Hong-Kong and the other open ports of China. The distance was too great to be accomplished without coaling *en route*, and it was particularly desirable to have a coaling station in Japan for this purpose.

Millard Fillmore (1800–1874), President of the United States, realising the necessity of establishing friendly relations between America and Japan, chose Commodore Matthew

Calbraith Perry[1] as envoy. The choice was a wise one, for having gained valuable information from such men as Glyn, Biddle, and McDonald, he was in a position not only to appreciate the difficulties of the task before him but also the immense importance of such an undertaking. He was a distinguished naval officer, familiar with the Courts of Europe, a scholar of no mean order, and, what was still more important, a man of immense resource and very considerable tact. With such qualities he was pre-eminently suited for the task.

Commodore Perry left Norfolk, a little to the south of Chesapeake Bay, in the steam-frigate *Mississippi*, November 24, 1852. He carried with him a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan, in which the Mikado was referred to as "Great and Good Friend." The letter was richly engrossed and enclosed in a gold box. The vessel proceeded by way of Madeira and the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Hong-Kong in April, 1853, and from thence to Shanghai. After visiting the Luchu and Bonin Islands, an American squadron comprising the *Susquehanna*, now flag-ship, the *Mississippi*, and two sloops-of-war, the *Plymouth* and *Saratoga*, set out for Japan, and reached the Province of Izu at dawn on the 8th of July, 1853.

As the vessels ran along the west coast of Izu, those on board saw a group of high mountains with scarred summits and well-wooded sides. By midday the ships reached Cape Sagami that forms a boundary between the inner and outer Bay of Yedo. Here the scenery was more rugged, with bluff cliffs two hundred feet high rising abruptly from the shore, broken here and there with verdant dells that stretched down to the waterside, while in the distance could be seen a fair panorama of groves and fields and snow-clad mountains. At this point Japanese boats attempted to intercept these strange steam-vessels, but the squadron ignored them, entered

[1] See *Life of Matthew Calbraith Perry*, by Dr W. E. Griffis.

the narrowest part of Yedo Bay, with the Province of Awa on the right, and finally anchored off the village of Uraga, about a mile and a half from a rugged promontory that forms an entrance to the upper Bay of Yedo.

The advance of the American squadron had caused considerable alarm. Inhabitants climbed the heights along the shore, curious to see such imposing vessels anchored in their peaceful waters. But anger was mingled with curiosity. Here were the dreaded foreigners who had ignored the Shogun's edict and had come in force to molest the land. Guns were fired by the Japanese, and the peaceful bay was dotted with boats propelled by almost naked rowers. These rapidly advanced towards the squadron, and in the stern of each native boat, where a small flag fluttered, stood an officer with two swords stuck in his girdle.

It was Perry's intention on no account to conciliate by yielding. He came not to solicit a favour but to demand as a right "the courtesies due from one civilised nation to another." In one of the boats came Nakashima Saburosuke, second in authority in the village of Uraga. He considered himself of sufficient importance to communicate with Perry. He had, however, mistaken his man, and most especially had he failed to realise that man's obdurate dignity. It was pointed out to him that Commodore Perry visited Japan as America's ambassador, and that under these circumstances he could only communicate with those of equal rank. Nakashima Saburosuke, therefore, was forced to parley with Contee, Perry's flag-lieutenant. He learnt from Contee that the object of the expedition was to present the Emperor of Japan with a letter from the President of the United States, and that that letter could only be entrusted to a high official.

Nakashima Saburosuke, perceiving that these Americans intended to transact their business in their own way, returned to seek counsel. In an hour's time he returned and informed

Contee that the Governor of Uraga had no desire to receive the letter addressed to the Emperor. He had evidently, during his brief absence, received instructions as to how he was to act towards these very persistent and high-handed foreigners. He explained the edicts issued by the Shogunate in relation to foreign trade, and told Contee it would be advisable for the squadron to go to Nagasaki, which was the only port where foreign vessels could be dealt with, politely hinting that it was extremely doubtful that the President's letter would receive an answer. The harangue was cut short in a peremptory manner. This Japanese official was told that unless the Governor of Uraga did not immediately come on board and fetch the letter, the squadron would weigh anchor, and, so far from going to Nagasaki, land men at Uraga who would deliver the letter themselves! This threat, combined, perhaps, with the sight of a long American gun, forced Nakashima Saburosuke to realise that further preambles on his part were useless, and, much impressed by this determined attitude, he received permission to quit the vessel, happy no doubt to wash his hands of so troublesome a business and by no means sorry to entrust the matter to the Governor.

The Governor of Uraga, Koyama Yezaimon, came in person the next morning. He pointed out that he could not take the responsibility of receiving the much-neglected letter for the Emperor because it was contrary to the laws of the country to do so. He yielded at last so far as to attempt to obtain the Shogun's permission, and agreed to send to Yedo for that purpose. He was allowed three days in which to settle the matter. Contee has described the Governor as "a gentleman, clever, polished, well-informed, a fine large man, about thirty-four, of most excellent countenance, taking his wine freely, and a boon companion."

During the absence of the Governor surveying parties left

the American vessels, and proceeded further up the Bay of Yedo for the purpose of taking soundings. While thus engaged they saw a number of feeble forts, soldiers with match-locks, and a considerable display of canvas screens, but though the Japanese watched the surveying parties with anything but approval, they offered no resistance.

On the 11th of July Yezaimon returned with the news that the Emperor would send a high official to receive the letter, pointing out, however, that it would not be answered immediately, and adding that the reply would be conveyed through the Dutch or Chinese at Nagasaki. Perry very naturally refused to receive an answer to the President's letter through such a medium, and regarded such a proposal as an insult to his country.

At Kurihama, two miles south of Uraga, commissioners were appointed to receive the letter on July 14th. Perry Park marks the spot to-day where rises an obelisk inscribed by Marquis Ito. On the shore stretched canvas walls and soldiers, grouped in the form of a large crescent, near the centre of which rose nine standards bearing scarlet pennons. Drawn up on the beach were a number of boats with a red flag in the stern. Thus was the scene when Commodore Perry and his staff landed and were conducted into the temporary building erected for their reception.

The reception-room was hung with violet cloth, upon which was stamped in white the Imperial symbols. On the right sat Commodore Perry and his staff, and opposite them the Princes of Izu and Iwami, who were appointed to receive the letter. The former has been described as a man of about fifty with an alert and pleasing face, the latter, his senior by fifteen years, with a wrinkled countenance by no means prepossessing. They were richly apparelled in silk robes adorned with threads of gold and silver. Having bowed gravely when the Commodore entered they solemnly resumed

their seats, content to grace the reception with a kind of dumb show.

The ceremony was extremely brief. A box containing the letter to the Emperor was brought in, and when the writing had been duly displayed, the epistle, together with a translation in Dutch and Chinese, were placed in a scarlet box which stood at the end of the apartment where Yezaimon knelt, together with one of the interpreters. The following communication was then handed to Commodore Perry:

"The letter of the President of the United States of North America, and copy, are hereby received and delivered to the Emperor. Many times it has been communicated that business relating to foreign countries cannot be transacted here in Uraga, but in Nagasaki. Now, it has been observed that the admiral, in his quality of ambassador of the President, would be insulted by it; the justice of this has been acknowledged: consequently the above-mentioned letter is hereby received, in opposition to the Japanese law.

"Because the place is not designed to treat of anything from foreigners, so neither can conferences nor entertainment take place. The letter being received, you will leave here."

Having listened to this rather extraordinary effusion, which was in the nature of a receipt and a mild admonition, Perry informed the assembly that he would return for an answer in the course of a few months. When asked if he would bring all his ships, he replied: "Yes, and probably with more." The interview was at an end. The Commodore rose, and, as he departed with his staff, the Princes remained standing.

Further soundings were taken in Yedo Bay, probably within eight miles of the capital, and having exchanged presents with the Governor of Uraga, the vessels departed on the 17th of July.

While the Commodore was spending his time on the coast

of China, the Shogun Iyeyoshi died. Perry was immediately informed of the event. Japanese officials, hoping to prevent, or at least delay, the return of the squadron, pointed out that at a time when the nation was plunged in mourning and when it was necessary to communicate with various princes, it would be unreasonable to expect a reply to the President's letter until the affairs of the nation were in a more settled state. It was hinted that the return of the squadron at such an inopportune time would probably lead to disastrous results.

Japan was in a state of ferment. Copies of the President's letter were sent to all the Daimyos and they were called upon to advise in dealing with so grave a crisis. Nearly all were opposed to opening the country to foreigners, while a few were of the opinion that the President's requests should be granted for a period not exceeding ten years, by way of a temporary experiment, which would give them time to attend to the defences of the country. Indeed, during these months of perplexity, forts were erected, bells and other metal articles were converted into cannon, while samurai, hastily learning the use of European arms, assembled in the capital, prepared to repel a second invasion of the Americans.

A long period of isolation accounted for the fact that both the Government and the people altogether failed to recognise that America was simply demanding certain rights granted to other nations. On the contrary, the Japanese regarded the Americans as barbarians whose policy was " first to enter a country for trade, then to introduce their religion, and afterward to stir up strife and contention." They had seen in the past the misfortune attending upon a missionary enterprise augmented by political intrigue, and they were resolved to prevent a repetition of such a disaster. The Daimyo of Mito was as firmly opposed to a treaty with America as he was strongly in favour of war. While Perry's squadron was anchored

in Yedo Bay, he issued a powerful appeal to his compatriots. "The annals of our history," he wrote, "speak of the exploits of the great, who planted bannners on alien soil; but never was the clash of foreign arms heard within the precincts of our holy ground. Let not our generation be the first to see the disgrace of a barbarian army treading on the land where our fathers rest. . . . Peace and prosperity have enervated the spirit, rusted the armour, and blunted the swords of our men. Dulled to ease, when shall they be aroused? Is not the present the most auspicious moment to quicken their sinews of war?" When Kublai Khan sent forth his great Armada, the Japanese Gods were supplicated that they might give the victory to those who worshipped them. When Perry reached Japan "Orders were," according to a native annalist, "sent by the Imperial Court to the Shinto priest at Ise to offer up prayers for the sweeping away of the barbarians."

Commodore Perry reappeared in the Bay of Yedo, February 13, 1854, with a fleet comprising three steam-frigates, four sloops-of-war, and two store-ships. The Japanese were anxious that Perry should remove his formidable vessels to Kamakura. After two weeks spent in discussing the matter, the squadron was anchored off the then village of Yokohama.

"On the 8th of March," according to a letter dated on board the *Vandalia*, "the day appointed for the first meeting, about nine hundred officers, seamen, and mariners, armed to the teeth, landed, and, with drums beating and colours flying, were drawn up on the beach, ready to receive the Commodore. As soon as he stepped on shore the bands struck up, salutes were fired, the mariners presented arms, and, followed by a long escort of officers, he marched up between the lines and entered the house erected by the Japanese expressly for the occasion." The writer of the letter then describes the apartment and the "intolerable ceremony" observed by the

natives. He then continues: "Refreshments were served in elegantly lacquered dishes; first of all, tea, which, as in China, is the constant beverage; then different kinds of candy and sponge-cake; . . . lastly, oranges and a palatable liquor distilled from rice, called *sake*. A flimsy banquet like this was not very agreeable to such hungry individuals, and we were the more disappointed, for, the Japanese using only chopsticks, we had, previously to coming ashore, taken the precaution, as we shrewdly thought, to provide ourselves with knives and forks. Imagine then our chagrin when finding nothing substantial upon which to employ them."

The negotiations between America and Japan could not be concluded speedily, and two audiences a week were held in the building erected for the purpose. On the 13th of March presents from the American Government were distributed. To quote the above letter-writer again: "They consisted of cloths, agricultural implements, firearms, etc., and a beautiful locomotive, tender and passenger-car, one-fourth the ordinary size, which we put in motion on a circular track, at the rate of twenty miles an hour. A mile of magnetic telegraph was also erected on shore and put in operation. The Japanese were more interested in it than anything else, but never manifested any wonder. . . . They are a much finer-looking race than the Chinese—intelligent, polite and hospitable, but proud, licentious, and revengeful."

The keen interest shown by the Japanese in the telegraph, model railway, agricultural implements, and the various mechanical appliances set before them is worth noting. They did not gape at these wonders as less intelligent people would have done. They were greedy for knowledge, eager to master some of the mysteries of science. Commodore Perry had made no mistake in setting out an exposition of science upon the shore of Yokohama. He had accurately gauged the faculties of the Japanese. He had, as it were, rolled back

the stone from the cave of Japan's seclusion, and those who had hidden in it so long peeped forth, like Ama-terasu of old, and looked into a mirror that did not reflect their image but the more glorious form of science. Perry had performed a gracious and a wise act. He taught Japan her first lesson in the power of steam and electricity, and she learnt that lesson not only quickly and well, but proved herself so apt a pupil that to-day she is the most progressive country in the Orient.

Japan's answer to the letter of the President of the United States took the form of her first foreign treaty, which was signed at Kanagawa, March 31, 1854. By this treaty the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate were opened to American trade, a consul stationed at the former port, and good treatment promised to shipwrecked American sailors. Commodore Perry had broken down Japan's isolation, and as soon as the treaty with the United States was signed Great Britain, Russia, and the Netherlands were eager to obtain similar privileges. Treaties with these countries were signed in 1854, 1855, and 1856.

Townsend Harris, the American consul, reached Japan in August, 1856, and resided at Shimoda. He was singularly fitted for the position he had been called upon to fill. With tact, patience, courage, he succeeded in winning the confidence of all those with whom he came in contact. Japan's first foreign treaties were too limited to prove satisfactory for long. They were, indeed, but the stepping-stones leading to commercial treaties in which foreign nations obtained full trading privileges. It was due to the labour of Townsend Harris that such a treaty was signed at Yedo, July 29, 1858, followed by similar treaties with other nations. To America is due the honour of writing a new and illustrious page in Japanese history, and among the most honoured names of those who accomplished so mighty a task are Commodore Perry and Townsend Harris.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DOWNFALL OF THE SHOGUNATE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPEROR

It will be remembered that during the Wars of Succession the clash of arms was not the only kind of conflict. There was in addition a dispute between scholars as to which of the two branches of the Imperial House had the right of succession. Kitabatake Chikafusa, who supported Go Toba, wrote: "It is the duty of every man born on the Imperial soil to yield devoted loyalty to his Sovereign, even to the sacrifice of his own life." When the war terminated, after a struggle that lasted sixty years, the Emperor still remained a puppet and the Shogun the actual ruler of the country.

In the seventeenth century literature again exerted a powerful influence in emphasising the value of Japan's old monuments. Mitsukuni (1622–1700), one of the grandson's of Iyeyasu and second Prince of Mito, spent most of his revenue in purchasing a great library and in maintaining scholars for the purpose of compiling works of research. Among these was the famous *Dai Nihonshi*, or "History of Japan," which, when it was completed in 1715, occupied no less than two hundred and forty-three volumes. Published in 1851, it created something of a furore among those who regarded the Mikado as the only source of authority. It stirred up bitter feeling against the Shogun, who had, without consulting the Emperor, signed foreign treaties. In the opinion of Sir Ernest Satow the second Prince of Mito

was "the real author of the movement which culminated in the revolution of 1868." Already the power of the Shogunate was beginning to crumble, and the *Dai Nihonshi* and Rai Sango's *Nihon Gwaishi*, or "External History of Japan," fired the whole nation with enthusiasm, and stirred up many an eager soul to overthrow the usurping Shogun and restore the Emperor as the supreme ruler of Japan. Such works came at an opportune moment. Far-sighted men realised that the peril of their country lay in constant friction between the two governments, that of Yedo and Kyoto. They realised that the Shogunate, which had committed the country to the foreigner, must fall and with it the effete feudal system. The revival of the study of pure Shinto, undertaken by such men as Mabuchi, Motoori, and Hirata tended to remind the people that Nippon was the Land of the Gods, and that the Emperor was the divine descendant of the Sun Goddess.

Another potent influence at that time was the Prince of Satsuma, a loyal supporter of the Mikado. He detested the foreigners, and was anxious for their expulsion, but he had been quick to realise their supremacy in arms and equally quick to adopt their methods of warfare. He not only perfected the military organisation of Satsuma but caused factories to be erected on European lines for making ammunition. He did not, however, wholly confine his attention to military matters. He saw the advantages to be gained by a knowledge of English and Dutch, and encouraged young men to learn these languages. He was a wise master with an almost prophetic vision. In no small measure he supplied the material that was destined in so short a time to build up the mighty fabric of the New Japan. It was strictly forbidden to go abroad at that time, but in spite of the Shogun, he was able to send twenty-seven young men to Europe, followed by others who visited the United States, eager for

knowledge, and they returned to Japan well-fitted for the task of making their country, not a kingdom divided against itself, but a great power in the East. The Prince of Satsuma seemed the one strong man at a time when the Shogun was nothing but a vacilating weakling and when the people knew not which way to turn. Unfortunately he died in 1858, but he had delivered his rousing message and left behind him such men as Saigo, Okubo, and Katsu, illustrious names in the history of New Japan.

When the Shogun Iyesada died, August 15, 1858, he was succeeded by Iyemochi, a boy only twelve years of age, and Naosuke, who had waived the claim of Hitotsubashi, known also as Keiki and Yoshinobu, as a candidate for the Shogunate, was now chief Minister. Naosuke, aware that a visit from English and French fleets might be expected any moment with a view to enforcing the signatures to the new treaties, and knowing that it was useless to await the sanction of the Emperor Komei (1847-1867), took the matter into his own hands, and in 1858–9 all the new treaties came into force. In 1862 he sent an embassy to the United States and other foreign powers to confirm the treaties.

When the ports were opened to foreign commerce there was great distress among the Japanese. The price of food was seriously affected, and to make matters worse foreign diseases were contracted, and much loss of life resulted from earthquakes, typhoons, and floods. Naosuke had averted danger as far as the Great Powers were concerned; but his concession to foreigners, without the approval of the Emperor, awakened a storm of angry protest. The Japanese were forced into commercial intercourse, forced to carry on trade with those whom they despised and hated, and they did their utmost to make the foreigners' position untenable with a view to forcing them to leave the country. European

traders who came to Yokohama were dishonest adventurers firmly resolved to impose upon the Japanese and to extort from them exorbitant profits. Where business integrity was entirely absent it is not surprising to find that old-established Japanese traders refused to do business with men who were entirely devoid of honour. Those who did deal with the European merchants were natives of a low order whose dishonest practices even exceeded those of the foreign adventurers. "They were," in the opinion of Sir Rutherford Alcock, England's first Minister to Japan, "pre-eminent in ingenuity and universality of cheating," and those dishonest traders gave Yokohama anything but an enviable reputation. What appeared to be a jar of camphor contained only a sprinkling of the genuine article, while the remainder consisted of powdered rice. Tubs purporting to be full of oil actually contained fifty per cent. of water, and so-called bales of silk were tampered with in the same unscrupulous fashion.

Throughout the land there was a bitter cry against the foreigner. Angry *ronin*[1] roamed the country demanding the expulsion of the "barbarians" and the restoration of the Emperor, while not a few called for vengeance upon Naosuke, who had, in their opinion, so wantonly given privileges to the foreigner. He was certainly at that time the most hated man in Japan. On March 24, 1860, while proceeding to the Shogun's Court in order to attend a Tokugawa festival, he was set upon by Mito *ronin* and assassinated outside the Sakurada gate of the castle. Near this spot to-day stand the offices of War and Foreign Affairs and the Imperial College of Engineering. Time has healed the wounds of hatred toward Naosuke, and in 1909, when Yokohama

[1] Literally "wave-man," a wanderer without a lord or house. See the first story in Lord Redesdale's *Tales of Old Japan*, also *Chiushingura, or the Loyal League*.

celebrated its fiftieth anniversary of foreign trade, a statue of this Minister was unveiled.

Shortly after the assassination of Naosuke the British Legation was attacked, and in September, 1862, a most regrettable incident occurred. Shimazu, the Lord of Satsuma, had visited Yedo in the hope of persuading the *Bakufu*, or Government of the Shogun, to take steps to pacify the country. His suggestions were not favourably received, and he left the capital with eight hundred samurai. The Daimyo and high officials were carried in *norimonos*, accompanied by guards on horse and foot, while the rear of the procession was composed of pack-horses loaded with the luggage of the train. It was an imposing, semi-military procession, and, according to the custom of the country, due reverence was required from those who happened to meet a feudal lord and his retinue. Near the village of Kanagawa the procession encountered a small English party, consisting of one lady and three gentlemen, merchants from Yokohama, riding towards Yedo. Instead of dismounting and bowing as Japanese etiquette required, the party simply drew to one side of the road to afford room for the procession to pass. One of the samurai, regarding such behaviour as an intolerable insult to his lord, immediately sprang from his companions and attacked the English party with his sword. He struck Richardson a fatal blow, severely wounded the other men, while the lady, apart from having her hat knocked off, was unharmed. The party hastily fled, but Richardson, after having ridden a short distance, fell from his horse and succumbed to wounds he had received.

The Shogun's Government was immediately called upon to pay a heavy indemnity and to force the Lord of Satsuma to give up the murderer of Richardson. An indemnity of £100,000 was paid by the Shogunate, but the Lord of Satsuma, having been, in his opinion, insulted by the English,

stoutly refused either to punish or give up the samurai who had simply done his duty as a trusty escort. The British Government, nettled by this insolent attitude, sent Admiral Kuper with a fleet of seven vessels to Kagoshima. The squadron opened fire, August 13, 1863. The forts were destroyed, and the greater part of the city burnt to the ground. A heavy storm forced the vessels to retire, but the attack had not compelled the recalcitrant Lord of Satsuma to yield, and the murderer of Richardson was never given up. The Satsuma chiefs realised from the losses they had sustained in support of their independence that it was useless to resist the foreigner so long as Japan relied upon antiquated methods of warfare, and it was shortly after the bombardment of Kagoshima that the Lord of Satsuma undertook to rectify these shortcomings and to give some of his young men a Western education in the manner we have already described.

While the Shogun's Government was endeavouring to protect the foreigner from outrage, the Court of Kyoto was issuing many edicts for the expulsion of the "barbarians." It was finally agreed that on June 25, 1863, a concerted effort should be made to dispel the foreigner, and "purify the Land of the Gods." The edict announcing this decision was sent to all the great lords of the country. No one received it with greater pleasure than the powerful Prince of Choshiu. On this date the *Pembroke*, an American merchant vessel bound for Nagasaki, passed through the Straits of Shimonoseki. She was fired upon, but got away without damage. French, Dutch, and American vessels a few days later commenced a bombardment, but the Shimonoseki forts remained intact and offered a powerful and effective resistance. The Straits for the time being were closed, and in consequence trade between Yokohama and Shanghai was at a standstill.

More than a year was spent in fruitless negotiations, and

although the Shogun was anxious to subdue Choshiu and restore trade, his treasury had been so heavily depleted that he was powerless to fulfil his promises. The treaty powers finally took the matter into their own hands, and a fleet of British, Dutch, French, and American vessels was sent to the Straits of Shimonoseki. In September, 1864, the forts were bombarded, a force was landed at Shimonoseki, the Prince of Choshiu forced to surrender, and the Shogun's Government compelled to pay an indemnity of £650,000, the last instalment of which was not paid until 1875.

Echizen became Supreme Administrator on the death of Naosuke, and in the hope of restoring the prestige of the Shogunate he married Iyemochi to the Emperor's sister, the Princess Kadzu no Miya. Echizen was the servant of the Shogun as well as the Mikado, one who was anxious to prevent civil war, loyal to the old order, but by no means blind to the tremendous changes he knew must inevitably come. Yedo had become corrupt, and one of his first acts was to cleanse the city by releasing the Daimyos, by abolishing the custom of their forced residence as hostages in the capital. "And so," writes a native annalist with a good deal of bombast, "the prestige of the Tokugawa family, which had endured for three hundred years; which had been really more brilliant than Kamakura in the age of Yoritomo on a moonlight night when the stars are shining; which for more than two hundred years had forced the Daimyos to come breathlessly to take their turn of duty in Yedo; and which had, day and night, eighty thousand vassals at its beck and call, fell to ruin in the space of one morning." *Ronin*, anxious to honour the Emperor and to dishonour those who usurped his power, cut off the heads of wooden images representing the first three Ashikaga Shoguns and exposed them to public ridicule. It was at this time, perhaps as a concession to popular opinion, that

the Shogun prepared to do homage to the Emperor. The custom had been neglected for two hundred and thirty years. On that occasion the Shogun, besides kneeling before "the Dragon Countenance," distributed many strings of silver, "moistening the whole populace in the bath of his mercy."

The Satsuma and Choshiu clans, though they had given the Shogunate so much trouble owing to their attack upon foreigners, had won high praise from the Imperial Court at Kyoto. They were regarded as loyal subjects who would rid the country of the Shogun and restore the Emperor to power. In 1863 the Choshiu were anxious that the Emperor Komei should go to Yamato and lead an army against the foreigners. Their intention was misunderstood at the Court. They were accused of a plot to secure the Emperor's person and were forbidden to enter the city. Sanjo Saneyoshi and six other nobles believed to be in sympathy with the Choshiu were forced to leave the Court and were deprived of their rank. In the meantime the city was put in a state of defence.

On August 20, 1864, the Choshiu, bitterly resenting the treatment they had received, assembled an army of thirteen hundred men in the hope of avenging those who had been unjustly dishonoured. The Choshiu leader was Kido Takeyoshi, then known as Katsura Kogoro, while Hitotsubashi was in command of the troops of Echizen and other clans. The battle raged about the Imperial Palace, and in the conflict, which lasted several days, the Choshiu army was completely defeated. According to a native annalist, "The capital, surrounded by a nine-fold circle of flowers, entirely disappeared in one morning in the smoke of the flames of war fire." The Satsuma clan had joined in the repulse of the Choshiu, but when Choshiu prisoners fell into their hands they treated them with great kindness and finally sent them

away with presents. Later the Satsuma were called upon to subdue the Prince of Choshiu. They refused to do so, and through the efforts of Saigo Takamori peace was restored between these powerful clans.

When Sir Harry Parkes arrived in Japan in 1865 as the envoy of the British Government pressure was brought to bear to induce the Shogun to obtain the Emperor's sanction in regard to the foreign treaties. In order to emphasise the demand foreign powers sent armed vessels to Hyogo. The Shogun, no doubt duly impressed by the naval display, presented a memorial to the Emperor. He set forth the difficulties of the Government in reference to foreign trade, and pointed out the wisdom of signing the treaties lest the foreign powers, so much in evidence at Hyogo, should resort to force in order to obtain their demands. The Emperor yielded, October 23, 1865, and gave his sanction to the foreign treaties. In the decree addressed to the Shogun the curt wording reveals in what spirit the Mikado granted the demands of the foreign powers: "The Imperial consent is given to the treaties, and you will therefore undertake the necessary arrangements therewith."

The young Shogun Iyemochi died at Osaka, September 19, 1866, and was succeeded by Hitotsubashi. On February 3, 1867, the Emperor Komei also died, and Mutsuhito, then fifteen years of age, came to the throne. The death of Komei and Iyemochi seems to have acted as an incentive in regard to the most progressive spirits of the age. Hitotsubashi had the stability of a reed blown by the wind and has been described as "fickleness personified." He had assumed the office of Shogun with great reluctance, and having assumed it not all the wisdom of Iyeyasu's "Legacy" could help him to stand against the strong wind of change that was then roaring across the country. In October, 1867, the Prince of Tosa advised the Shogun to resign, and this advice

was warmly supported by such able samurai as Saigo, Okubo, and Komatsu. The Shogun received the following communication: "The cause [of our trouble] is in the fact that the administration proceeds from two centres causing the Empire's eyes and ears to be turned in two different directions. The march of events has brought about a revolution, and the old system can no longer be persevered in. You should restore the governing power into the hands of the Sovereign and so lay a foundation on which Japan may take its stand as the equal of other countries." In reply the Shogun addressed the following to his supporters: "It appears to me that the laws cannot be maintained in face of the daily extension of our foreign relations, unless the Government be conducted by one head, and I propose therefore to surrender the whole power into the hands of the Imperial Court. This is the best I can do for the interests of the Empire." On November 19, 1867, the Shogun tendered his resignation, which was duly accepted, and with his resignation the Shogunate came to an end.

This important step having been taken it now remained to purge Kyoto of the Tokugawa party and establish a central Government with the Emperor at its head. On January 3, 1868, troops composed of the Satsuma, Tosa, Aki, Owari, and Echizen clans entered the Imperial capital and took up a position outside the Palace. The nobles who had hitherto surrounded the boy Emperor were dismissed, and their places were filled by members of the triumphant clans. The *Bafuku* was abolished and the country was now under the control of the Imperial Court. Sanjo Saneyoshi, who had been exiled and deprived of his rank, was recalled, and became Prime Minister, while those who had suffered with him filled various positions in the newly-established Government.

The ex-Shogun, who warmly resented the honour paid to the Choshiu, retired to Osaka accompanied by the Aidzu

clan. Hitotsubashi, who had tendered his resignation in such a gracious spirit, considering only the interest of his country, now began to regret his submission. At Osaka he was joined by the Tokugawa, and, listening to their advice, he resolved to restore if possible his old prestige and strike a decisive blow against those who were now entrusted with the affairs of State. News of his intention reached the Government, and the Daimyos of Owari and Echizen, hoping to avert a conflict, offered him an appointment in the new Government worthy of his rank. Hitotsubashi, vacillating as usual, agreed to obey the Emperor's demand and accordingly prepared to visit the Imperial capital. No sooner had the envoys departed, assured that they had effectively pacified the ex-Shogun, than Hitotsubashi began to waver, and finally decided to go to the capital, not as a peaceful and loyal subject about to assume office in the new Government, but as a rebel accompanied by an army of nearly thirty thousand men. News of the advancing army reached Kyoto, and the Satsuma, Choshiu, and other clans hastily left the city. The armies met at Fushimi, January 28, 1868, and Hitotsubashi's army was defeated. The ex-Shogun fled to Osaka with the remainder of his vanquished forces closely followed by the victors. He sought shelter in an American vessel, where he was not recognised, and finally reached Yedo in one of his own ships. Shortly before the battle of Fushimi was fought Kobe and Osaka were opened to foreign trade.

Hitotsubashi was disheartened by the defeat of his army at Fushimi, and when the Government troops entered Yedo, he surrendered his castle and was subsequently permitted to retire to his ancestral home at Shizuoka, where he abandoned all thought of power, quietly submitted to the new order of things, and lived the life of a private gentleman. His adherents still resisted the Imperial troops, first on the

hills of Uyeno in Yedo, where Iyemitsu's great temple, Toyeizan, was set on fire, then in Aidzu, and finally at Hakodate, June 27, 1869.

During the momentous years 1867–8, when the Emperor Mutsuhito held the reins of State and a central Government was established, departments were formed and officers appointed to take charge of them. The departments dealt with supreme administration, the State religion (Shinto), and home and foreign affairs. Kyoto had been long associated with the evils of dual government and the Court had become effeminate. With the elaborate changes already effected and at a time of many beneficial reforms, it was deemed advisable to leave a capital associated with so many degrading traditions and establish a new capital elsewhere. The great statesman Okubo Toshimichi addressed a memorial to the Emperor, in which he suggested that the Mikado and his Court should remove to Osaka. When the matter was discussed Osaka was abandoned and Yedo chosen instead. The Emperor and his Court arrived at Yedo, November 26, 1869, and the name was changed to Tokyo (" Eastern Capital "), while Kyoto received the name of Saikyo (" Western Capital "). The year-period, commencing from January, 1868, was known as *Meiji*, " Era of Enlightenment."

On April 17, 1869, the young Emperor took what is known as the Charter Oath, which formed the basis of the new Government. In that Oath all measures were to be decided by public opinion, all ranks were to study the principles of social and political economics, uncivilised customs were to be abandoned, and wisdom sought throughout the world in order to establish the foundations of the Empire.

The cry of the new Government was now " Japan for the Japanese," and the dream of the administrators was to exclude all European innovations and to return to Japanese life as it existed in the fifth century. Fortunately those

who dreamed this dream were rudely awakened. The powerful Daimyos of Choshiu, Satsuma, Tosa, Hizen, and Kaga, who had once so strenuously preached against the intrusion of the foreigner, were now anxious that Japan should join the comity of nations. The leaders of these great clans addressed the following memorial to the throne: "The place where we live is the Emperor's land, and the food which we eat is grown by the Emperor's men. How can we make it our own? We now reverently offer up the lists of our possessions and men, with the prayer that the Emperor will take good measures for rewarding those to whom reward is due and taking from those to whom punishment is due. Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various classes." This memorial, one of the most impressive that has ever been issued in Japan, sealed the fate of feudalism. In September, 1871, the Daimyos were called to Tokyo. The Imperial edict announced the abolition of the daimiates and the restoration of their revenues to the Government. With only one or two exceptions the Imperial order was quietly obeyed. Dr W. E. Griffis "counts among the most impressive of all his life's experiences that scene in the immense castle hall of Fukui, when the Daimyo of Echizen bade farewell to his three thousand retainers, and, amidst the tears and smiles and loving farewells of the city's populace, left behind him lands, revenue, and obedient followers, and retired to live as a private gentleman at Tokyo."

CHAPTER XX

THE WAR WITH CHINA

With the Restoration of the Emperor and the abolition of feudalism Japan became a diligent pupil of Western civilisation. She opened the inexhaustible Book of Knowledge with one object in view—the making of a great world-power in the East. No country has so rapidly shaken off the shackles of old tradition or so eagerly welcomed Western thought that took its place. Patriotism was a flaming ideal in the early days of New Japan. The samurai, in an age of renunciation, disappeared with their great clan lords. Down the road of the past they went with their two swords, proud representatives of the military caste. Though the samurai departed, the spirit that had made them fighting men, that unwritten law known as Bushido,[1] remained.

A national army was required in place of the quarrelsome clan forces, and it was to be a democratic army, in which all men who were physically fit became conscripts. The time was ripe for such a move, and an army and navy, based on Western models, came into being. Japan was a nation at last, eager, ambitious, alert.

It is doubtless true that foreign teachers were the creators of New Japan. They were experts in almost every department of knowledge, and the seed these men sowed did not fall on barren soil. In course of time it produced a great harvest, for it ultimately evolved a Japan strong enough to

[1] See *Bushido : The Soul of Japan*, by Inazo Nitobe.

conquer China, Russia, and Prussian militarism in the Far East. As England's Ally we look to Japan not as a warrior nation bent on war so long as it means the expansion of her Empire. To-day we look to Japan to maintain peace in the Far East, and Japan knows the value of such a peace, that it is the most precious sheath in her great harvest.

When all social disabilities were removed and the *Eta*, once despised pariahs, descendants of Korean captives, were made citizens by the clemency of the Emperor in 1871, the Europeanisation of Japan was pushed forward by the progressives with almost alarming rapidity. Foreigners, despised, hated, feared before the Restoration of the Emperor, now became worthy of emulation. The merit or otherwise of Western civilisation was not questioned. It was swallowed wholesale, and, it must be admitted, not too well digested. It seemed to Japan, in her transition stage, the one royal road to success, to that dazzling height where Dai Nippon would one day stand pre-eminent among the nations of the East. Orders of knighthood (1875) and aristocracy (1884) were created, and other Western institutions that seemed incongruous vagaries in Japan were adopted with breathless activity. The West smiled at Nippon's zeal, while China looked on aghast at so much wanton change. Steamship companies were established, torture abolished, a Bourse and Chamber of Commerce were inaugurated in the capital, and a Supreme Court of Justice instituted in 1883. These important events did not take place without a good deal of friction, and the Government successfully put down no less than three provincial risings, viz., the Hiogo Rebellion (1876), the Satsuma Rebellion (1877) led by Saigo Takamori, and the Saitama Insurrection (1884).

When after the coming of Commodore Perry Japan was opened to foreign trade, treaties were prepared by envoys for the protection of foreigners against the primitive practices

of an Oriental country. The treaties were signed by the Shogun and afterwards by the Emperor in complete ignorance of the humiliating restrictions imposed upon them. It was not to be expected that Western nations would submit to a criminal code that ordered death for nearly every crime, a country where there were no Courts of Law, and where the prisons were excessively filthy. Foreign residents, according to certain clauses in all the treaties, were exempt from Japanese civil and criminal law, and punishment was decided by legal representatives of their respective countries. The treaties were just at the time they were drawn up and signed, but when Japan became Europeanised and prepared codes of laws resembling those of civilised countries, this particular clause naturally became a grievance to the new Government. Statesmen made strenuous efforts for a revision of the treaties, and in 1887, after protracted negotiations, failed to induce the Foreign Powers to remove a clause that was bitterly humiliating to those who believed that Japan, through her many reforms, should now be on an equality with other civilised Powers. But the Foreign Powers, ready to teach Japan the manners and customs of Western civilisation, ready to throw open their treasure-house of knowledge and to disperse with liberal hands, were not prepared to welcome Nippon among the civilised nations of the West without indisputable proof of her worthiness to receive such recognition. In 1894 a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was signed between Great Britain and Japan, and in 1899 it was agreed that Japan should have jurisdiction over all British subjects. Other nations followed Great Britain's example. It had been a long and painful struggle, but the temerity of the Occident to entrust its subjects to a "pagan" people was happily without foundation, for so far from their fears being realised by acts of gross injustice, Japan rose nobly to her new responsibilities, and those who

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Kyoto.

Bridge crossing the Kamogawa.

Exclusive News Agency.

Tokyo.

The Shiba (Buddhist) Temple.

are qualified to judge assert that "Her laws are excellent, and her judiciary is competent and just."

Before dealing with the war with China, which was destined to accomplish so much in the evolution of Japan, something must be said in regard to Formosa, which became part of the Japanese Empire in 1895, and has since become a most valuable island dependency.[1] The Chinese discovered Formosa, or as it was then called Taiwan ("Terraced Bay"), in the seventh century. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit this island, and it was they who gave it the name of Formosa ("The Beautiful"). In the seventeenth century Dutch, Spaniards, English, and Japanese succeeded in gaining a temporary foothold. The Japanese called the Island Takasago because part of its shore resembled the famous beach of that name near Kobe. It was a name rich in many associations. Takasago, with its famous old pine trees typifying longevity, has been praised by many a Japanese poet anxious to do justice to so lovely a spot. It is mentioned in the *Genji Monogatari*, and is for ever associated with a great battle between the Taira and Minamoto hosts in a valley called Ichi-no-tani, close to the west end of Suma. Koxinga, son of a Chinese pirate by a Japanese mother, drove out the Europeans and actually established a dynasty (1662–83). He was finally subdued by Manchu invaders and for more than two centuries Formosa belonged to the Chinese Empire. A number of Luchuan fishermen, who claimed to be vassals of Japan, were shipwrecked on Formosa and were brutally attacked by savages. In 1874 the Japanese Government sent an expedition to the island in order to avenge the atrocities committed by these head-hunting tribes. China, shuffling as usual, disowned any responsibility in the matter, but finally agreed to pay an indemnity provided the Japanese would evacuate the island.

[1] See the *Island Dependencies of Japan*, by Mrs C. M. Salwey.

By this expedition, which was in reality an astute political move, the hitherto doubtful claim of Japan to the Luchu Islands was definitely settled. In 1875 the Kuriles, from the Russian word *kurity*, "to smoke," in reference to the many active volcanoes, were ceded by Russia to Japan in exchange for southern Saghalien.

When the Empress Jingo conquered Korea the Land of the Morning Calm, in acknowledging her defeat, agreed to pay an annual tribute to Japan, that is to say, a yearly presentation of complimentary gifts. As we have already seen it was Korea's neglect to pay tribute after having done so for a number of years that resulted in Hideyoshi invading the country with his great armies. The result of these wars was negligible, but Korea, after being painfully reminded of her negligence, fulfilled her obligation until the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate. She had been compelled to do so, but while she outwardly acknowledged the suzerainty of Japan, she had no reason to love her conquerors, and regarded China as her powerful patron and friend, while the Celestial Empire looked upon Korea as a Chinese protectorate to be defended against incursions from Japan, a country that had set aside ancient traditions, scorned the wisdom of Chinese philosophers, and gone over with a rush to the aggressive ways of the hated barbarians.

In 1868 the Japanese Government sent an embassy to Korea bearing letters announcing the Restoration of the Emperor to full sovereignty and offering to renew their friendly relations with that country. The embassy was not favourably or even courteously received. Korea had suffered too much in the past from Japan to tolerate overtures that were totally inconsistent with Korean feeling. Korea, looking to China for support, rejected Japan's offer of friendship. The insult was received in the Japanese Empire with a storm of angry protest, and there were many

Ministers who, listening to the cry of the people, clamoured for war. The Emperor, wishing to conserve the rapidly increasing strength of his country, resisted the popular demand for war with Korea, which would have also meant war with China. It was a wise decision, for peace was necessary in order to carry on successfully the great work of reorganisation. The Emperor knew too well the utter futility of Hideyoshi's foreign wars to repeat another blunder of that kind. Every day he saw Japan increasing in efficiency, and only when that efficiency had reached a high standard of military strength was he prepared to strike if necessary a decisive blow against China and Korea.

In the meantime Korea's hatred of Japan increased. In 1875, while a Japanese warship was surveying the mouth of the River Han, the vessel was fired on by a Korean fort situated on the Island of Kung-Hwa. The Japanese, resenting the insult to their flag, bombarded the fort, and, landing on the island, commenced a vigorous attack. The Koreans, whose only weapons were bows and arrows and old-fashioned matchlocks, could make no effective stand, and the entire garrison was wiped out.

This fresh Korean insult added fuel to the fire of those Japanese patriots who were eager to crush insolent Korea. Once again the red hand of war was held in check by the Government. The late Professor Cramb has humorously observed that history only repeats itself in newspaper leaders. As a matter of fact history repeats itself quite apart from the indefatigable journalist, and the world would learn its lessons in a very unsatisfactory way if historical events were not reiterated over and over again. Japan had learnt her lesson from Commodore Perry, and was now in a position when she could emulate his example by sending an armed expedition to Korea, not for the purpose of war, if it could

be avoided, but for the purpose of persuading the Koreans to sign the Treaty of Intercourse.

Japan was just as determined to put an end to Korea's isolation as she had been before the Restoration to resist the same measure imposed upon her by America. The Koreans, preferring to yield voluntarily rather than be forced to do so, signed the treaty on February 26, 1876. The opening words of the first article were: "Chosen being an independent State, enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan." Korea had no legal control over Japanese residents, for in this respect, as in nearly every other detail, the treaty was almost identical with the early treaties Japan had concluded with the United States and the Western Powers. Korea, like Japan when her foreign treaties were first signed by an intimidated Shogun, bitterly resented the sudden destruction of her ancient peace and gave vent to her anger in various acts of outrage. The first Japanese Legation was established at Seoul in 1880, and two years later, at the instigation of the Regent, Tai-wen-kun, it was attacked without provocation by a Korean mob and burned to the ground, while the Legation staff hastily retreated to the port of Chemulpo, boarded a British gunboat, and were conveyed to Nagasaki. In this incident we see a repetition of the fate of the British Legation at Yedo. Count Inouye, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, was sent to turbulent Korea to demand an apology from the Korean Government. The apology was promptly given, together with an indemnity of 500,000 *yen*. There was no chance of evading a step of this kind, for Japanese troops were quartered in the capital, a constant menace to those Korean officials who were faced with the same difficulties as those that confronted the tottering Shogunate.

In 1882 Pak came to Japan as Korea's ambassador. He was much impressed by all he saw in that country, and re-

turned to his own kingdom a warm supporter of the Japanese cause. The Japanese Government, thinking that Korea's apology and indemnity promised a more peaceful state of affairs in the future, went so far as to remit no less than 400,000 *yen* of the indemnity. The Korean canker of revolt was still festering.

On December 4, 1884, many Court dignitaries attended an official banquet in the capital. During the ceremony Prince Min, the leader of the Reactionary Party, and many other functionaries were dragged from the Palace by a mob of anti-foreign fanatics and ruthlessly murdered. Seoul was in a state of uproar, and the progressive party entreated the Japanese troops to protect the Palace from assault. The Chinese troops, led by the late Yuan-Shikkai, first President of the Chinese Republic, and, until forced to abandon his proposal for a Monarchy, on the very eve of becoming Emperor of China, far outnumbered the Japanese forces, and attacked the Palace. The King fled, and the Japanese troops were forced to retreat to the Legation, which was promptly burnt by the insurgents.

The Land of the Morning Calm had belied its poetical name, and once again the people of Japan clamoured for war, and this time their demand was supported by France. The Japanese Government saw no reason to change the policy it had hitherto adopted, and wisely restrained the militant spirit of the people. The Treaty of Tientsin was signed, and this convention was negotiated by Count Ito and Viceroy Li Hung Chang. By this treaty Japan and China agreed to withdraw their troops, and each country promised to send no forces in the future without due notification to Tokyo and Peking. In addition Korea was to pay an indemnity and rebuild the Japanese Legation. But the treaty was regarded by China as "a scrap of paper," and in due time the Chinese Dragon, heartily despising Japan and her re-

forms, and blissfully ignorant of her strength, was ready to crush and maul her ancient enemy.

While Korea was in revolt, China aiding and abetting the disturbance, and Japan endeavouring to foist reform upon a truculent nation, Russia concluded a commercial treaty with Korea in June 1884, through the negotiations of M. Pavloff, Russian Minister at the Court of Seoul, and four years later the signing of the Overland Commercial Treaty made Russia a prominent rival in North Korea. But Chinese influence predominated and King and courtiers were but puppets in the hands of Yuan Shikkai, who for another ten years was ruler of the Korean kingdom. Japan at that time was fully occupied with home affairs, notably a struggle between the Government and the Diet, which first met in 1890, and further negotiations in regard to the revision of the foreign treaties.

One of the main sources of Korea's revolt had its origin in a new religious cult, known as Tong Hak, or Eastern Culture, founded by Choi, a Korean scholar. The new religion was simply a mixture of the teachings of Buddha, Confucius, and Lao Tzu, and from these Asiatic systems he wrote a sacred book and a prayer to be repeated by his followers. The new cult, embodying the law of purity, the relations of human duty, and purging the body from all lust, with the Almighty referred to as the Lord of Heaven, a title borrowed from the Roman Catholics, was a hybrid religion by no means intended to stir up strife. Followers of the new doctrine lost sight of its religious significance, and the movement, becoming political, ended in lawlessness.

The title of Lord of Heaven proved the undoing of Choi. He was accused of being a Roman Catholic, in spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. After suffering torture he was put to death and his teachings strictly prohibited. This crime incensed the Tong Haks, and in 1893 a number

of them placed a petition on a table before the Palace. In this petition it was requested that Choi should be publicly declared innocent and a monument erected in his honour, also that the prohibition should be removed and their founder receive posthumous rank. The petition concluded with a threat that if it were rejected the Tong Haks would drive all foreigners from the kingdom. The King, probably ignorant of the strength of this faction, ignored the petition and caused those who were responsible for it to be arrested.

The King's unwise decision sealed the fate of Korea and China. In May, 1894, a vast assembly of the Tong Haks arose, and, with all the zeal of bitter, down-trodden fanatics, were resolved to strike against the Korean Government and put an end to tyranny. It was so formidable a rising that the Chinese at Seoul grew alarmed. Peking was promptly notified as to the serious state of affairs, and it was requested that a Chinese force should be sent to quell the insurrection. Violating the Treaty of Tientsin, China sent an army to Korea, carefully informing the Japanese Government after the soldiers had been dispatched. Japan and all the treaty powers had acknowledged the independence of Korea. China calmly brushed aside these treaties and declared in a dispatch to Tokyo that "It is in harmony with our constant practice to protect our tributary states by sending our troops to assist them. . . ." China, by her reference to "our tributary states," had thus openly declared herself suzerain over Korea. Japan had been insulted, and war was in evitable.

Another incident aroused the anger of Japan against China. Kim-Ok-yun, leader of the Korean Revolutionists, had lived many years in Japan. He was lured to Shanghai, where he was murdered by a Korean who claimed to have committed the act by order of his King. The remains of Kim-Ok-yun were taken to Korea, subjected to most bar-

MANCHURIA
Mukden
Sha-ho
Liao Yang
CHINA
PEKING
Kaiping
LIAO-TUNG
Antung
Kinchau Bay
Nanshan
Taku
Dalny
Port Arthur
Gulf of Pechili
Wei-Hai-Wei
Tsinanfu
Kiaochau
Tsingtau
SHANTUNG
CHINA

CHINA, KO

Tumen R.
Vladivostock
Yang
KOREA
Seoul
Han R.
Fusan
Masampo
Strait
Tsushima
Korea
Shimonoseki
Iki
Sasebo
JAPAN

D JAPAN.

barous treatment, the unfortunate man's family put to death, and the assassin was extolled and rewarded for his shameful act. This incident, together with China's claim upon Korea and the violation of the Treaty of Tientsin, very nearly put an end to Japan's patience. The time had come to strike a blow against China, and on the 12th of June, 1894, the Japanese Government sent a dispatch to Peking announcing that troops would be landed in Korea.

At the eleventh hour, when two great Eastern Empires were on the verge of war, Japan did her utmost to maintain peace in Korea by offering to carry out reforms in the Korean peninsular conjointly with China. The Chinese Government, regarding change as barbarian, refused to accept Japan's invitation, and demanded the withdrawal of the Japanese forces. Japan, seeing it was useless to attempt to move China in the interest of modern progress, insisted upon the Korean Government accepting a programme of reform independent of China. Korea, however, supported by Yuan Shikkai, refused to adopt any such scheme until the Japanese troops were removed from the kingdom. At this critical juncture Russia addressed a note to the Japanese Government emphatically stating that unless Japan's troops were immediately withdrawn from Korea, the Mikado's Empire would be held responsible in the event of war being declared. In answer to this note Japan once again offered to work conjointly with China, and once again the Celestial Empire gave a curt refusal.

On July 25, 1894, the *Kowshing*, a British vessel, was chartered by Li Hung Chang to convey additional troops to Korea. The ship was fired upon by the Japanese cruiser *Naniwa*, under the command of Captain (now Admiral) Togo, and the *Kowshing*, with its transport of Chinese soldiers and British subjects, was sunk. Due warning was given to Europeans on board, and though a few

succeeded in leaving the vessel before she was torpedoed, many perished, including all the Chinese soldiers. The incident naturally awakened a good deal of hostile criticism and many considered that Togo had acted contrary to the usage of International Law.

A week later war was declared between Japan and China. The Celestial Empire had already thrown down the gauntlet, apparently in blissful ignorance of the nature of Japan's re-birth and all it signified. Apart from detachments from Li Hung Chang's private army the Chinese troops were ill-equipped, and though a few modern weapons were in use the majority were archaic, and umbrellas and fans were not absent from the fighting line. Of modern military organisation there was none, and China actually entered the conflict without a hospital corps! Japan's army, on the contrary, was superbly organised and splendidly equipped, an Eastern army efficiently trained by Western military experts.

At Ping Yang General Nodzu dispersed the Chinese army, and a fortnight later all the Chinese were driven out of Korea. A naval engagement took place near the mouth of the River Yalu, and although the Japanese cruisers had to contend with Chinese battleships, Japan won a memorable victory, and in the victory attained command of the sea.

There followed in Manchuria a brilliant series of victories. The Second Army, under Field-Marshal Oyama, attacked Port Arthur, while the sea-front was bombarded by the Japanese fleet. Early on the 21st of November, 1894, Port Arthur, whose fortress had been constructed by European engineers and was considered almost impregnable, was captured, and the victory won after a ten hours' battle. The Third Army was dispatched to Wei-Hai-Wei, and was successful in reducing a fortress guarding the southern entrance to the Gulf of Pechili. This stronghold was taken, January 31, 1895. The sea-gates defending the

capital were now rendered ineffective and the Taku forts bombarded by the Japanese fleet. Another expedition made short work of the fortifications in the Pescadores Islands. The Formosa coast, east of the Pescadores, was bombarded, and conquering troops landed upon the island.

The war was terminated by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, concluded April 14, 1895. It embodied the following conditions :—

1. Recognition of the full and complete independence of Korea by China.

2. Cession of the Liaotung Peninsula and the adjacent waters to Japan.

3. Cession of Formosa and the Pescadores to Japan.

4. Payment to Japan of an indemnity of 200,000,000 *taels*.

5. Opening up of Sashih, Chungking, Suchow, and Hangchow to trade.

6. Opening of the Yangtse-kiang to navigation.

CHAPTER XXI

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

JAPAN had conquered China in a series of brilliant victories on land and sea. She had struck a fatal blow at the Chinese Dragon and shown the whole world the empty pretensions of the Celestial Empire. But Japan was not destined to enjoy the well-deserved fruits of victory. Russia, supported by Germany and France, formed an unholy alliance for the express purpose of robbing Japan of her just reward. Six days after the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki the following remonstrance was presented to the Japanese Government:

"The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in examining the conditions of peace which Japan has imposed on China, finds that the possession of the Peninsula of Liaotung, claimed by Japan, would be a constant menace to the capital of China, would at the same time render illusory the independence of Korea, and would henceforth be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East. Consequently the Government of His Majesty the Emperor would give a new proof of their sincere friendship for the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan by advising them to renounce the definitive possession of the Peninsula of Liaotung."

Japan, deeply mortified by Russia's interference, was not strong enough to resist three great European Powers. Russia's advice was in reality a command, and her reference

to "sincere friendship" a polite formality that deceived no one. It was a formidable threat supported by three great armies with almost limitless resources. Japan yielded, restored the Liaotung Peninsula to China, and, through the "friendly services" of the Powers, received from the Chinese Government the sum of 30,000,000 *taels*. The true inwardness of Russia's remonstrance became apparent within less than three years. She forced China to cede to her the southern part of the Liaotung Peninsula and thus came into possession of Dalny and Port Arthur, ice-free ports of great strategic importance. Japan had particularly resented Germany's interference. The attitude of that Power seemed at the time incomprehensible. It became all too clear in 1897 when Germany forced China to cede Kiaochau on a ninety-nine years' lease. Japan had been robbed of the fruits of victory and Russia and Germany had become a menace to the peace of her Empire. Though Japan yielded to the Powers, she prepared for the inevitable conflict in the future by very considerably increasing the strength of her army and navy.

While Russia was demanding and obtaining fresh concessions in Manchuria there was a terrible Boxer rising, and the legations at Peking were ruthlessly attacked in 1900. Japan sent an army of twenty thousand men to the relief, and, in conjunction with other forces, rendered valuable service. She had shown in her prompt action that she had not only imbued the practical arts and sciences of the West, but was fully alive to the much more important conception of humanitarianism, from a standpoint hitherto unassociated with the Orient. On February 11, 1902, the Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Japan was signed, and renewed in 1905 and 1911.

On April 8, 1902, a treaty was signed between China and Russia in which it was stipulated that the Russians should

evacuate Manchuria within a given period. Russia only partly complied with this treaty. She had no intention of cancelling her virtual possession of Manchuria, and, having withdrawn a portion of her troops, she made fresh demands on China. She was equally active in maintaining her position in Korea, and Bezobrazoff, a Russian speculator, supported by the Government at St Petersburg, obtained a concession from the Korean Government to carry out certain operations on the Yalu and Tumen rivers. Troops were moved down to the Yalu in April, 1903, in violation of the agreement concluded between Japan and Russia. The Japanese Government promptly interposed and attempted an amicable settlement. But Russia, with a fleet at Port Arthur, Vladivostok, and Chemulpo, thought she could well afford to ignore the dispatches that came from Tokyo. She gauged Japan's strength by her victory over China, and Russia, with her great resources, regarded that victory with contempt. Negotiations failed, and on February 5, 1904, the Japanese Minister was withdrawn from St Petersburg.

Japan's object in going to war was to assert her predominance in Korea and to force the Russians to evacuate Manchuria. Japan realised that if Russia came into the possession of the whole of Manchuria, it was almost inevitable that she would subsequently absorb Korea. Japan was faced with the greatest crisis in her history. It was a case of either war or "permanent effacement in Asia," and without hesitation she chose war. It was Japan's intention to win back the fruits of victory, those fruits that had been wrested from her by Russia, and indirectly by Germany and France. Japan's cause was just, and Russia's aggressive act was a blow against her national honour. Her great victory over China had been turned into a humiliating diplomatic defeat, and the insult brought out all those qualities that make Japan the greatest fighting nation in the East. She

had gained valuable experience in her war with China. Her army had been trained by German military experts, while her navy had reaped the benefit of instruction from English naval officers. Japan was thoroughly efficient in her fighting strength, for with a wisdom that never erred in selecting the best, and only the best, masters, she had made her army and navy a power to be reckoned with no matter how formidable the foe. Right was on Japan's side, and though the West had taught her the latest and most efficient tactics to be employed on land and sea, her soldiers and sailors were still stamped with the spirit of Bushido. That was the driving force behind the gun and sword. Yesterday they were samurai, too often swashbuckling samurai, bent on petty disputes, entirely destitute of national unity and with an Emperor wrapped in cotton-wool, a being too sacred to be seen by his people, too divine, or too inefficient, to rule. To-day the old fighting spirit is renewed, clan attacking clan no longer exists, and the Emperor has become the shining soul of his people.

It was essential that Japan's first engagement should be a naval one before she could carry out offensive operations on land. Having once obtained command of the sea she could land troops where she chose without hindrance. There was a railway at Port Arthur and Vladivostok, and as a railway was of extreme importance to both armies, it was necessary that Japan should select either of those ports for the preliminary attack. Vladivostok was then ice-bound and would remain so until April. Port Arthur, on the other hand, was free from ice, and was associated with a great Japanese victory. Port Arthur and not Vladivostok was chosen, in conjunction with Chemulpo, for the first attack. There was no time for delay, and as Major F. B. Maurice [1]

[1] I have closely followed this authority's account of the Russo-Japanese War. See *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. xii.

Exclusive News Agency.

The late Emperor Mutsuhito.

Exclusive News Agency.

The Emperor Yoshihito

points out, it was necessary that the first blow should be struck before the arrival of Russian reinforcements.

On February 10, 1904, war was declared. Those in command of the Russian fleet were singularly lax in their preparations. No attempt was made to unite the vessels at Port Arthur, Vladivostok, and Chemulpo, and many of the officers at Port Arthur on the night of February 8, instead of being on duty, prepared to meet a formidable blow, were on shore revelling in the gaieties of a ball.

The Japanese fleet was under the supreme command of Admiral Togo. On February 6 four Japanese battalions were embarked at Sasebo, on the north-west of Kyushu. They sailed for Chemulpo, escorted by seven cruisers and twelve torpedo-boats under the command of Admiral Uryu. Two days later the Russian gunboat *Korietz* left the harbour of Chemulpo and fired upon the scouts of Uryu's squadron. Later in the day, when the flotilla reached Chemulpo, the port of Seoul, troops were disembarked without serious opposition and rapidly occupied the capital, while on February 9 the *Variag*, *Korietz*, and the transport *Sungari*, were put out of action. The vessels were so badly damaged that they were sunk by their own crews.

While this success was being achieved Admiral Togo inflicted a severe defeat upon the Russian fleet at Port Arthur. His brilliant victory, in conjunction with that of Admiral Uryu, had won for Japan the command of the Yellow Sea. A decisive blow had been struck and Japan could land her troops wherever she desired, and, as it happened, before the actual declaration of war.

An attempt was made, February 24, to shut up the Russian fleet at Port Arthur by sinking vessels at the mouth of the harbour. After the failure of two attempts, it was generally believed that the feat was impossible; but on May 2 the blocking of the harbour was accomplished. In the meantime

Russia, realising the eminent danger of her fleet, saw the necessity, which she should have seen at an earlier date, of attempting to unite her vessels. The Vladivostok squadron was able to leave the ice-bound harbour at the end of the month and succeeded in destroying the Japanese transport *Kinshiu Maru* and two steamships.

Kuropatkin was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces in the Far East, and in the vicinity of Antung, on the River Yalu, he concentrated his troops. On May 1 General Kuroki, leader of the First Japanese Army, commenced an attack upon the Russians with such success that after two hours' battle the Japanese were established on the right bank of the Yalu. The battle of the Yalu was a decisive victory for the Japanese, and it was the first battle fought under modern conditions between white and yellow armies.

Now that the mouth of the harbour of Port Arthur was effectively blocked, so that, for the time being, it was impossible for Russian battleships to put out to sea, the Second Japanese Army, under General Oku, anchored off Howtushih on May 5. On May 14 Oku succeeded in isolating Port Arthur by cutting off communications with the outside world, but on the following day the Japanese battleships *Hatsuse* and *Yashina* were sunk by mines, a loss which was secretly guarded until a year later, when the Russian fleet was almost totally annihilated. Russian troops were now established at Nanshan, on the neck of the Kwantung Peninsula, and the town strongly fortified. Oku's Second Army commenced the attack on May 26, supported by Japanese vessels, which fired from Kinchow Bay. The Russians were firmly established and offered a stubborn resistance. It was not till sunset, when the infantry of the Fourth Japanese Division rushed into the ebbing tide, that Nanshan was won and the enemy driven from their position. The 30th of May saw the Japanese in occupation of Dalny.

The Japanese were now anxious to attack Port Arthur, and in the beginning of June they were ready to commence operations. In the meantime, however, the Vladivostok squadron made frequent raids, and Admiral Kamimura's vessels offered stout resistance. On June 12 the Russian squadron, evading Kamimura, sank two Japanese transports, the *Hitachi Maru* and the *Sado Maru*, in the Straits of Korea, and all the troops on board perished. On June 23 six Russian battleships and four cruisers left Port Arthur under the command of Admiral Witthoft. For a time it looked as if Japan would temporarily lose her command of the sea and have her land operations seriously checked. Witthoft, however, did not make full use of his opportunities. Instead of joining the Vladivostok squadron and striking a concerted blow against the Japanese navy, or even attempting to win a slight victory independently of the Vladivostok vessels, he simply turned tail on seeing Togo's squadron and returned to Port Arthur without firing a gun. On June 26 Stoessel's advanced positions were captured by General Nogi, and about a fortnight later Marshal Oyama, in supreme command of the Japanese forces, left Japan and made K'aip'ing his headquarters.

In July Port Arthur was garrisoned with over forty-one thousand troops and could call upon a strong reserve. General Nogi's army had been joined by the Ninth Division and a reserve brigade. He had in all an army of about sixty thousand men. The attack on Port Arthur, one of the most memorable events in modern history, commenced on July 26. The operations opened with an assault on the outlying works, and after fighting for two days and nights the Japanese won two small forts from the enemy. Nogi did not spare his men. Battalion after battalion were hurled against the fortress, and these heroes, who held death cheap so long as it paved the way to victory, fought with a splendid

courage and a loyalty that won the admiration of the world.

Two days after these small forts had been taken Admiral Witthoft, at the command of the Tsar, left Port Arthur with six battleships and four cruisers in an attempt to join the Vladivostok squadron. The ships, divested of many guns that had been transferred to the fortress and sadly needing repairs, were scarcely fit for a heavy naval engagement. While steaming from the harbour they were pursued by Togo's squadron, Admiral Witthoft was killed, and his flagship put out of action.

Siege artillery was now brought to bear upon Port Arthur, but in spite of a heavy cannonade little damage was done to the fortifications. On August 20 General Nogi began a general assault. It was then that the old samurai spirit rose to its full strength and glory. Japanese soldiers rushed upon the fortress as if they were human waves lashed by a strong wind. The waves broke and fell back, while others rushed forward to take their place; thus that great human sea, amid the roaring of guns, the flash of bayonets, the shouting of commands, ebbed and flowed. For a moment a position was gained by these intrepid heroes, who were fighting for their Emperor and their country, only to be driven back or killed by the enemy. It was a wonderful assault displaying at every moment splendid devotion and reckless self-sacrifice. For two days and nights this human sea raged against the fortress manned by an enemy scarcely less brave than those who besieged the stronghold. At last the Japanese were driven back. For the time being the fierce assault had failed. Over fifteen thousand Japanese soldiers were killed and wounded, and only two small forts had been captured, but that human sea, driven by the wind of patriotism, is one of those events in Japanese history that seems to give an added glory to the nobility of self-

sacrifice. Such an attack, for all its Homeric splendour, could not last, and while the main armies were engaged at Liao Yang, the siege subsided into "sap, mine, and countermine." There followed later a heavy bombardment, and on September 19 Fort Kuropatkin was captured.

On the left bank of the Sha-ho rose a hill with a single tree at its summit and the village of Sha-ho-pu at its foot. This bare hill was twice captured by the Japanese and twice retaken by the Russians. On October 19 a truce was declared, and a very timely truce, for the severe Manchurian winter had already set in.

On November 27 General Nogi's army commenced a series of attacks on 203 Metre Hill. Progress was slow, but on December 5 the hill was won. It was a most important victory for the height was the key of the position enabling officers to get into telephonic communication with the men who controlled the howitzers in the rear, and, by means of a rapid series of messages, gunners were enabled to fire upon and sink Russian warships in the harbour without having actually seen the objects of their attack. From 203 Metre Hill the eastern and western forts were undermined, and on December 18 one of the eastern forts was taken after mines had done their work beneath it, and another fort fell into Japanese hands before the end of the year. Those in command of the fortress now began to dispute. Some were anxious to surrender, while others were no less eager to continue fighting. On January 1, 1905, Stoessel, without consulting his staff, sent a flag of truce to Nogi, and in the evening the capitulation was signed. Stoessel sent on that memorable day the following message to the Tsar: "Great Sovereign, forgive! We have done all that was humanly possible. Judge us; but be merciful. Eleven months have exhausted our strength. A quarter only of the defences, and one-half of them invalids, occupy twenty-seven versts of

fortifications without supports and without intervals for even the briefest repose. The men are reduced to shadows!" Port Arthur had fallen after a tremendous struggle. Japan had won back the fruits of victory she had wrested from China and lost by a stroke of the pen from Russia. Mr Robert P. Porter, in *The Full Recognition of Japan*, informs us in regard to Port Arthur that "most of the forts, trenches, and defence works have been preserved, and it is possible to study the progress of the siege. . . ."

In February Nogi's army was withdrawn from Port Arthur, reinforced, and sent northward to join Oyama. With the forces of Kuroki, Nodzu and Oku, the Japanese army endeavoured to envelop the Russians near Mukden, the historic Manchu capital, surrounded by a double wall, within whose precincts are the Chinlan and Chungchen palaces, libraries and repositories rich with silk embroideries and brocades, rare books and old porcelain, carved jade and bronzes. The great battle of Mukden lasted for nearly three weeks, and on March 10 the Japanese occupied the Manchurian capital. After this Russian defeat Kuropatkin resigned his position of Commander-in-Chief and undertook the command of the First Army.

We must now briefly describe the last phase of the Russo-Japanese War. The Baltic Fleet, upon which the Russians pinned their hope of retrieving their misfortunes in the Far East, set sail in October, 1904, under Admiral Rozhdestvensky. While the fleet was crossing the Dogger Bank it encountered a few Hull fishing smacks. Some of the Russian officers, none too well trained, imagined the presence of torpedo-boats, and fired upon the vessels. Two fishermen were killed and eighteen wounded. This unfortunate incident was referred to arbitration, and compensation was paid by the Russian Government.

In the China Sea Rozhdestvensky united the Russian

squadrons, May 9, 1905. Early in the morning of the 27th of May the Russian fleet was sighted by the Japanese scout *Shinano-maru* steering for the Straits between Tsushima Island and the mainland of Japan. When Admiral Togo was informed of the approach of the Russian fleet, he promptly left Masampo, on the south-east of Korea, and set out to meet the vessels of the enemy. While Togo, with a division of battleships and armoured cruisers, sailed to the north in order to take up a position ahead of the enemy, Admirals Uryu, Kamimura, Dewa, and Kataoka took a south-easterly course with a view to enveloping the rear of the approaching fleet. The Russian vessels passed between the Island of Iki and Tsushima in two columns, led by battleships and followed by armoured cruisers, while torpedo-boats, transports, etc., were placed in a secure position between the columns. When the flagships were about five miles apart Togo's vessel, the *Mikasa*, sent forth the following signal: "The fate of the Empire depends upon this battle. Let every man do his utmost." It was not an original signal, but it was inspiring and apt, for the Battle of Tsushima was Japan's Trafalgar. It was a brilliant victory worthy of Japan's great Admiral. The Russian navy was practically annihilated, and vessels went down where the Mongol Armada had sunk more than five hundred years before.

The war might have drifted on indefinitely had not President Roosevelt come forward and suggested that the time was ripe for peace. The war was concluded by the Treaty of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and by that Treaty Russia was "to cede the half of Saghalien annexed in 1875, to surrender her lease of the Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur, to evacuate Manchuria and to recognise Japan's sphere of influence in Korea."

No country came forward to dispute the Treaty of Ports-

mouth, no threat was uttered behind the smiling face of diplomacy to the effect that Japan's victories had made her a menace to the peace of the Far East. Japan had conquered Russia, and, if we only look at the matter from such a superficial point of view as represented by the English cartoons published at the time, it is easy to see which country had the popular vote. The fall of Port Arthur, the Battle of Mukden, and Japan's Trafalgar Day stirred the imagination and won the whole-hearted admiration of her English Ally.

Japan was victorious partly because she was absolutely united at home, and abroad in realising that she was fighting the greatest and most significant battle in her history. She was also victorious because she had left nothing to chance. Her army had been trained by German instructors, and the experts had produced, however ironical it may seem to-day, officers and men who had drunk deep from the much-abused cup of Prussian militarism. They had drunk in good faith, a little anxious as to the result when the training was actually put to a severe test on the battlefield. But the instruction of German military experts more than survived the ordeal of modern warfare, and after Japan had won her first victory against Russia, Japanese staff officers, though they may not like to be reminded of it now, sent telegrams to their German instructors telling them of the victory and with no little satisfaction exulting in the proved value of their theories.

The Russian soldiers, on the other hand, were hard and dogged fighters. They were extraordinarily patient and endured severe hardships without a murmur. They fought with great bravery; but the rank and file were lacking in initiative. Many of the junior officers, and especially those of the Siberian regiments, were not sufficiently trained and were often ignorant of modern military theories which would have been of immense value to them. There were quarrels

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Tsingtau German Military Waggons passing through the Street.

among the leaders, and their quarrels too often came before the real interest of their country. "In the result," writes Major F. B. Maurice, "the Russian army in the Far East was a ponderous and clumsy machine, capable of gallant fighting on the defence, but with little power of manœuvre or of initiative, and in its want of capacity to seize such chances as the fortune of war presented forced it continually to follow the movements of an adversary, who had the courage to assume and the skill to keep the offensive." Happily Japan and Russia are no longer enemies, and to-day they fight for a common cause, the downfall of Prussian militarism.

On August 22, 1910, Korea was annexed to the Japanese Empire. Five years previous Japan had made an arrangement to establish a protectorate over that country. She had introduced various reforms and looked forward to the time when those reforms would bear good fruit. The Koreans, however, resented the modernisation of their country, and the wars of Hideyoshi were by no means forgotten. On October 26, 1910, Prince Ito, who had striven so hard to make a Japanese protectorate successful, was assassinated, and there was general unrest throughout the whole peninsula. That Japan had made serious mistakes in Korea, as she had previously done in Formosa, cannot be denied, and realising that the desired end could not be obtained under the *régime* of a protectorate, she boldly came forward and annexed that very troublesome kingdom. According to a Japanese Government document "the *régime* of a protectorate cannot be made to adapt itself to the actual conditions of affairs in Korea, and that the responsibilities devolving cannot be justly fulfilled without the complete annexation of Korea to the Empire." Japan has a tremendous task before her. She has already retrieved many of her mistakes, and in the far future Korea, misgoverned so long, may, according to

the rescript of the late Emperor of Japan, "enjoy growing prosperity and welfare, and be assured of repose and security." In the past Korea's history has been a very troubled one; with wise Japanese rule that kingdom may yet become worthy of her old name—the Land of the Morning Calm.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FALL OF TSINGTAU

LAFCADIO HEARN, in his *Japanese Letters*, wrote: "I detest with unspeakable detestation the frank selfishness, the apathetic vanity, the shallow vulgar scepticism of the New Japan, the New Japan that prates its contempt about Tempo times, and ridicules the dear old men of the pre-Meiji era, and that never smiles, having a heart as hollow and bitter as a dried lemon." He wrote again on another occasion: "There will be no hearts after a time: Waterbury watches will be substituted instead. These will be cheap and cold, but will keep up a tolerable ticking." We must bear in mind that Hearn had an over-weening love for Old Japan. He was very far from being a progressive, and would possibly have endorsed the following old Chinese law: "Let him who says anything new, or him who shall invent anything new, be put to death." He saw Japan during the ugly period of transition. Had he lived to-day he might have modified his opinions. Young men cannot have hearts either like dried lemons or Waterbury watches who have risen so splendidly, so loyally, as our Ally, to crush Prussian militarism in the East, though the cynic will observe that Japan went forth to crush those very theories she had so successfully carried out in her war with Russia! Dr Nitobe writes: "Scratch a Japanese of the most advanced ideas, and he will show a samurai." The New Japan would have tottered and fallen long ago if it had not been firmly based upon all that was best in the Old. The fighting spirit in Japan to-

day is not an Eastern version of Prussian militarism: it is the fighting spirit of many yesterdays, and the fall of Tsingtau is Bushido's greatest triumph.

Japan has taken a prominent position in the present great world-conflict, too prominent a position in the opinion of certain critics who regard the Japanese with suspicion and claim to see in the nation aggressive tendencies that may prove dangerous in the future. Japan's interest in Kiaochau dates from the Chino-Japanese war. As we have already seen the interference of Russia, France, and Germany, who formed the Triple Alliance in the Far East, deprived Japan of the fruits of victory. Great Britain, in spite of pressure being brought to bear, refused to join in this spoliation, and her refusal to do so was not forgotten by her Ally. According to the remarkable *Memoirs* of Count Hayashi, Germany was the chief offender. Her Minister threatened war, informing Hayashi that Japan was not strong enough to fight against Russia, France, and Germany.

In 1897 two German missionaries, Nies and Henle, were put to death by Chinese in a remote district of Shantung. Under ordinary circumstances an apology and indemnity from China would have satisfactorily terminated the matter. Germany, however, made it her business to magnify the gravity of the case. The murdered missionaries became in death, not martyrs in a Christian cause, but the pivot upon which turned Germany's expansion of Empire in the Far East. The death of these two missionaries was deemed sufficient excuse to force China to lease to Germany, March 6, 1898, Kiaochau, of which Tsingtau is the capital, for ninety-nine years, while Russia established a fortified position on the Liaotung Peninsula at Port Arthur.[1]

[1] By the Treaty of Portsmouth, October 15, 1905, Port Arthur was transferred to Japan. In March, 1915, China granted an extension of the lease to ninety-nine years.

"The bay of Kiaochau," writes Mrs C. M. Salwey,[1] "is admirably suited for strategic purposes and a naval base. Its waters are protected and deep; for this reason it can accommodate ships of almost any size. . . . The boundary of this colony extends from the furthermost point of the peninsula (taking in the shores) right up north as far as the Paishaho River; to the east it extends to the summit of the Lanshan Mountains."

Germans, masters in the art of rapid and efficient organisation, lost no time in making good use of their new possession, and the quiet little fishing village of Tsingtau became the centre of Teutonic enterprise. Within a few months of occupation engineers had elaborate harbour works well in hand. Plans were made and approved for a railway from the capital to Tsinanfu, a distance of two hundred and fifty-six miles. The first sod was cut by Prince Henry of Prussia in 1899, and in 1904 the railway was open for traffic. The success of this engineering feat was inevitable, for the permanent way stretched to the very heart of China's teeming population. As Mr William Blane[2] informs us, "the whole railway system of China is linked up with it."

While engineers were busy with railway construction, others were no less energetic in completing the great harbour works, and in 1904 over four thousand vessels, including Chinese junks, were accommodated. Where natives had once trodden stony tracks, hawking their goods, elaborate buildings were erected by the Germans, such as the Imperial Post Office, the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, the Government Chapel, the Imperial Maritime Custom House, while schools were organised for Chinese and Europeans, and the town was made thoroughly efficient in every way. "The unique style of the architecture," writes Mrs C. M. Salwey, "notice-

[1] *Asiatic Review*, November, 1914.
[2] *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1914.

able everywhere, is of a decidedly Oriental type. Some of the new buildings are three and four stories high. They are of considerable size, and present an imposing appearance. The windows are protected by being set well back, with deep verandas finely arched to admit light, and at the same time forming a façade in front of both upper and lower story."

The natives had regarded Kiaochau as a barren and unprofitable land. The Germans, on the contrary, looked forward to the time when they could make their colony of great strategic importance. They worked with that object in view, and whatever the German's faults may be, lack of unity and strenuous enterprise are not among them. They had to contend with great difficulties, but the goal towards which they marched was worth reaching. Money flowed from the Fatherland, and the Germans in China finally achieved what must be universally admitted to be a triumph in successful colonisation. Among the forty-seven open Chinese ports Tsingtau held "the sixth place as a Customs' revenue producer." As an important naval base, well supplied with coal, it became a menace to other countries, and particularly to China and Japan. Tsingtau, according to a speech of the Kaiser, was almost as dear to Germany as Berlin itself. Tsingtau was intended to be the spring-board which, at the right psychological moment, would precipitate the Germans into further possessions in the Far East.

A speech made by Baron von Bülow at the time of the occupation of Kiaochau now makes grim reading from the German point of view. He said: "All that we have done is to provide that, come what may, we ourselves shall not go empty-handed. The traveller cannot decide when the train is to start, but he can make sure not to miss it when it does start. The devil takes the hindmost." He also said in the same speech: "We have secured in Kiaochau

a strategical and political position which assures us a decisive influence on the future of the Far East. From this strong position we can look with complacency on the development of affairs."

When Great Britain declared war against Germany, Japan, in compliance with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, addressed an ultimatum on August 15, 1914, in which it was stated that all German warships should withdraw from Japanese and Chinese waters and deliver up Kiaochau, which would be eventually restored to China. As no reply was given, Japan declared war on August 23. In the Emperor Yoshihito's Imperial Rescript we read:

"We, by the Grace of Heaven, the Emperor of Japan, on the throne occupied by the same Dynasty from time immemorial, do hereby make the following proclamation to all Our loyal and brave subjects:

"We, hereby, declare war against Germany and We command Our Army and Navy to carry on hostilities against that Empire with all their strength, and we also command all Our competent authorities to make every effort in pursuance of their respective duties to attain the national aim within the limit of the law of nations.

"Since the outbreak of the present war in Europe, the calamitous effect of which We view with grave concern, We, on Our part, have entertained hopes of preserving the peace of the Far East by the maintenance of strict neutrality, but the action of Germany has at length compelled Great Britain, Our Ally, to open hostilities against that country, and Germany is at Kiaochau, its leased territory in China, busy with warlike preparations, while her armed vessels, cruising the seas of Eastern Asia, are threatening Our commerce and that of Our Ally. The peace of the Far East is thus in jeopardy.

"Accordingly, Our Government, and that of His Britannic

Majesty, after a full and frank communication with each other, agreed to take such measures as may be necessary for the protection of the general interests contemplated in the Agreement of Alliance, and We, on Our part, being desirous to attain that object by peaceful means, command Our Government to offer, with sincerity, an advice to the Imperial German Government. By the last day appointed for the purpose, however, Our Government failed to receive an answer accepting their advice.

" It is with profound regret that We, in spite of Our ardent devotion to the cause of peace, are thus compelled to declare war, especially at this early period of Our reign and while We are still in mourning for Our lamented Mother.

" It is Our earnest wish that, by the loyalty and valour of Our faithful subjects, peace may soon be restored and the glory of the Empire be enhanced."

It is stated in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance that " whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this agreement are in jeopardy the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests." The Governments of Great Britain and Japan were of the opinion that it was necessary to protect their respective interests in the Far East, and both regarded the German territory of Kiaochau as a menace to the peace of the Orient.

The blockade of Tsingtau commenced on August 27, 1914. Adjacent islands served as a local base, and mine-sweeping was soon in active progress. The Japanese troops landed at Laoshan Bay on September 18, and were joined about a week later by a small British force under Brigadier-General N. Barnardiston. The Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese and British expeditionary forces, Lieut.-General Mitsuomi

Exclusive News Agency.

Generals Kamio and Barnardiston.

Kamio, was prepared for a vigorous resistance. The outer defence, however, including Prince Heinrich Hill, fell into Japanese hands within a day. An important position had been gained, for from this eminence all Tsingtau's forts could be bombarded. As the *Times* pointed out, the Germans did not seem to be carrying out their "no surrender" policy. They had yielded this valuable position after making a very half-hearted resistance. Their guns were fired incessantly, but with reckless aim and extraordinary waste of shells.

On October 14 the naval squadron destroyed part of the Iltis and Kaiser forts, but a day or two later the Japanese cruiser *Takachiho* struck a mine and sank. By the end of the month powerful siege guns were mounted on Prince Heinrich Hill, and, on the anniversary of the birthday of the Emperor of Japan, army and navy commenced a general bombardment. On November 2 Iltis Fort was put out of action and a position of strategic importance gained by the attacking infantry. Further advances were made the next day, and on November 7 the expeditionary forces were established in the main line of defence. The battery of Shaotan Hill and Tahtungchin were captured, and Chungchiawa Fort was also taken. While the troops were waiting orders to storm the remaining forts, white flags were run up by the enemy. The first to be seen floated from the Observatory at about six o'clock in the morning.

Tsingtau had fallen[1] after a short siege, and it came as a surprise to many, for the German garrison was expected to hold out until the end of the month, but Fate had decreed otherwise. Tsingtau had not been fortified to the extent projected, and General von Bernhardi had advocated a further expenditure of £5,000,000 for the purpose of completing the defence. At the commencement of the siege

[1] For a detailed account of the fall of Tsingtau see *The Times History of the War*, pt. 24.

MANCHURIA
RUSSIAN PROVINCES
SAGHALIEN
KURILE ISLANDS
YEZO
KOREA
HONDO
CHINA
J A P A N E S E

JAPANESE EMPIRE IN 1915.

the Governor of Tsingtau, Captain Meyer-Waldeck, received an Iron Cross and a congratulatory message from the Kaiser. Iron Crosses have been given so promiscuously as to have become a jest even among the Germans themselves. Neither the Iron Cross nor the royal message saved Germany's colony in the Far East. The defence did not do justice to Prussian arms, and in the opinion of many Teutons the white flag was run up too soon. The fall of Tsingtau is undoubtedly one of the most significant events in the great world-conflict, and Japan was mainly responsible for the victory.

The following quotation from the *Lokalanzeiger* will be sufficient to show Germany's attitude in the matter: "The inevitable has happened—Tsingtau has fallen. The history of the German leased territory is henceforth at an end. It was short but glorious. From a decayed Chinese fishing village had been made a shining testimony to German culture. That the most beautiful, the cleanest, and the most progressive town in the Far East had sprung in a couple of years from the soil was calculated to awaken the jealousy of the slit-eyed island people of the East. . . . Never shall we forget the bold deed of violence of the yellow robbers or of England that set them on to do it. We know that we cannot yet settle with Japan for years to come. Perhaps she will rejoice over her cowardly robbery. Here our mills can grind but slowly. Even if the years pass, however, we shall certainly not often speak of it, but as certainly always think of it. And if eventually the time of reckoning arrives, then as unanimously as what is now a cry of pain will a great shout of rejoicing ring through Germany, 'Woe to Nippon.'"

Within a fortnight of the fall of Tsingtau, Japan took without a blow the Marshall and Marianne Islands, also the East and West Caroline Archipelagos from Germany. She rendered valuable assistance to our Navy and to our Allies by supplying them with vast quantities of munition. She

offered to send "a picked quarter of her two million men to the European theatre of war," and did good service in quelling a rising of Indian troops at Singapore. These acts of a chivalrous Ally fail to awaken anything approaching magnanimity in America. On the contrary she sees in Japan's attitude a purely national aim. She regards Japan as a cunning opportunist who has worked hard, not for the downfall of Germany, but for the increased power of her own country. She sees in Japan's demands on China [1] the approach of a very grave crisis that is likely to upset the comity of nations, and also fears the possibility of a Japanese Protectorate over China.

What to do with Japan's surplus population, increasing at an alarming rate, is a problem that still remains unsolved, but Mr Shinji Ishii,[2] if he is tempted to look to Kiaochau as a possible way out of the difficulty, assures us that "We shall not be so tenacious as to insist on the permanent occupation of the once leased territory." Mr E. Bruce Mitford [3] sees in Japan's action "not aggrandisement but magnanimity," for he does not seem to doubt the return of Kiaochau to China. He sees Japan stepping forward, not to gain a possession, but to crush Germany in the Far East. "It is the dawn," he writes, "in the distant East, of that new Era —which, we hope, the downfall of Prussianism will herald in the West—when 'there shall be no more war!'" To-day Japan is twice as powerful as she was when she fought against Russia. Her army and navy are rapidly increasing, but under wise statesmanship these great forces may possibly "serve as the guardians and the guarantees of peace." Japan, as we have already stated, sent congratulatory messages to German

[1] In May, 1915, after conferences extending over three months, China granted the demands of Japan relating to Shantung, South Manchuria, and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

[2] *Asiatic Review*, January, 1915.

[3] *British Review*, October, 1914.

instructors when Nippon won her first victory against Russia. To-day Japan has had an opportunity of seeing the horrors committed by German soldiers who have been dehumanised by the worship of War. She has seen the effect of Prussian militarism in Belgium and Flanders, in Poland and Serbia. She may well stand aghast at such atrocities, firmly resolved never to make a fetish of militarism. When this war is over, let us hope that Japan will lead peace by the hand in the East, aware that in the maintenance of peace is the greatest victory. Thus shall she achieve her supreme triumph, and in that hour the beauty of her sword-guard will transcend the strength of her blade.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

So many books have been written about the Mikado's Empire within recent years that it has been humorously observed " that *not* to have written a book about Japan is fast becoming a title to distinction." A glimpse at Fr. von Wenckstern's *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* will be sufficient to show the wide range of subjects already dealt with. The reader is warned against the hurried effusions of the globe-trotter and the gush of those writers who, without the least discernment or accurate knowledge, people Japan with geisha and make a description of a Japanese tea-house their *pièce de résistance*.

The *Nihongi*, translated by Dr W. G. Aston, and the *Kojiki*, translated by Professor B. H. Chamberlain, give an account of the mythology and early history of the country. Both volumes contain a number of valuable notes. Among the most recent additions to historical research is *A History of the Japanese People*, by Captain F. Brinkley and Baron Kikuchi, and *Ghenkō: The Mongol Invasion of Japan*, by Nakaba Yamada. Professor Joseph H. Longford's *The Story of Old Japan* has been described as the best one-volume book on the subject, a distinction it fully deserves. The same writer's *The Story of Korea, Japan and the Japanese*, and *The Evolution of Japan*, may be studied with profit. *Japan*, by Dr David Murray, in the " Story of the Nations " series, is profusely illustrated, and the sixth edition contains a supplementary chapter by Professor Longford, who also contributes to vol. xii. of *The Cambridge Modern History*. *The Mikado's Empire*, by Dr W. E. Griffis, is devoted to history and an account of the author's very interesting experiences in Japan, while the same writer's *The Japanese Nation in Evolution* is extremely readable. The scholarly work of Mr James Murdoch is indispensable to the student, and he has a new and important historical study in preparation. See also Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, Alcock's *Capital of the Tycoon*, Black's *Young Japan*, and Dening's *Life*

and Times of Hideyoshi. The aborigines, their manners, customs, religion, etc., have been fully described by the Rev. J. Batchelor in *The Ainu of Japan*, while archæologists are referred to Gowland's *Dolmens and Burial Mounds in Japan.* The mythology, folk-lore, etc., has been described by the present writer in *Myths and Legends of Japan.*

Things Japanese, by Professor B. H. Chamberlain, covers a very wide range of subjects arranged in alphabetical order with bibliographical notes, while the same author's *Murray's Handbook for Japan*, written in collaboration with W. B. Mason, is replete with all the information the most exacting traveller could require.

Among the many books devoted to Japanese art those written by William Anderson, Arthur Morrison, Henri Joly, E. F. Fenollosa, and E. F. Strange are of particular value. The seventh volume of Captain F. Brinkley's monumental work, *Japan and China*, is devoted to "Pictorial and Applied Art," while other volumes describe the manners and customs of the Japanese and a variety of other subjects. Rein's *Japan* and *The Industries of Japan* should also be consulted.

A History of Japanese Literature, by Dr W. G. Aston, is exceedingly well done, and contains numerous translations in prose and verse. It should be read in conjunction with Chamberlain's *Japanese Poetry* and Clara M. Walsh's *The Master-Singers of Japan.* See also William N. Porter's translation of the *Hyakunin-isshiu*, the *Tosa Nikki*, and the translator's very charming *A Year of Japanese Epigrams.* Japan's love of Nature has never been portrayed with more charm than in Chomei's *Hojiki* ("Notes from a Ten Feet Square Hut"), translated by F. Victor Dickins.

The national religion has been fully described in Dr W. G. Aston's *Shinto: The Way of the Gods.* See also Sir Ernest Satow's *The Shinto Temples of Ise* and *The Revival of Pure Shinto* in the second and third volumes of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. The Creed of Half Japan*, by the Rev. Arthur Lloyd, is one of the best books on Japanese Buddhism. The terrible persecution of the Christians is described in Mathia Tanner's *History of the Martyrs of Japan.* See also *Histoire du Christianisme dans l'Empire du Japon*, by Charlevoix, and another important work on the same subject by Léon Pagès.

Among other books may be mentioned *Tales of Old Japan*, by A. B. Mitford (Lord Redesdale) and the work of Lafcadio Hearn, including his published letters. No other writer has written about

Japan with more charm of style. For the study of modern Japan as a great World-Power see *Fifty Years of New Japan*, by Count Okuma and other writers, *Japan the New World-Power*, a second edition of *The Full Recognition of Japan*, by Robert P. Porter, and *The Island Dependencies of Japan*, by Mrs C. M. Salwey.

APPENDIX

(*This Statistical Summary has been prepared by Olga Epstein*)

AREA AND POPULATION.—The Japanese Empire is composed of numerous islands, five of which constitute the mainland,

Principal Islands	Number of Adjacent Small Islands	Total Extent of Coast Miles	Area in Square Miles			
			Principal Islands	Adjacent Small Islands	Total	Per Cent.
Mainland . .	167	6,039	86,953	473	87,426	33.53
Shikoku . .	74	1,647	6,907	176	7,083	2.72
Kiushiu . .	150	4,504	13,870	1,833	15,703	6.02
Hokkaido (excluding Kurile Islands) .	13	1,588	30,340	162	30,502	11.70
Chishima or Kurile Islands (31 islands) . .	..	1,442	6,068	..	6,068	2.33
Sado . . .	..	129	337	..	337	0.13
Oki . . .	1	185	130	1	131	0.05
Awaji . . .	1	100	219	1	220	0.08
Iki . . .	1	96	51	1	52	0.02
Tsushima . .	5	503	263	3	266	0.10
Riukiu (55 islands)	..	769	941	..	941	0.36
Ogasawarajima or Bonin Islands (20 islands) . .	..	176	27	..	27	0.01
Total (Japan Proper) .	412	17,178	146,106	2,650	148,756	57.05
Chosen (Korea) .	..	..	..	..	84,738	32.50
Taiwan (Formosa)	7	764	13,911	33	13,944	5.35
Hokoto (Pescadores)	12	170	25	22	47	0.02
Karafuto (Japanese Saghalien) .	..	..	..	..	13,253	5.08
Grand total .	431	18,112	160.042	2,705	260,738	100.00

the Honshiu, Shikoku, Kiushiu, Hokkaido (excluding the thirty-one islands known as the Chishima or Kurile), and Taiwan (Formosa); in addition to these five principal islands there are included the Kurile Islands, Sado, Oki, Awaji, Iki, Tsushima, Riukiu, Ogasawarajima (or Bonin Islands), Hokoto (or Pescadores Isles), the peninsula Chosen (Korea), and Karafuto (Japanese Saghalien). The foregoing table gives the details of the total area of the Empire.

In 1872 the population of Japan was 33,110,796 (16,796,144 males and 16,314,652 females); by 1902 it had become 46,041,768 (23,243,675 males and 22,798,127 females).

For administrative purposes Japan Proper was divided (December 31, 1913) into 47 prefectures. These were composed of 636 rural districts, 69 cities, 1246 towns, and 11,033 villages.

The population of Japan Proper for several years is as follows:—

Year (December 31)	Males	Females	Total	Annual Increase per 100 Inhabitants
1906	24,314,790	23,849,987	48,164,761	1.02
1908	25,046,380	24,542,424	49,588,804	1.58
1910	25,759,347	25,225,505	50,984,844	1.45
1912*	26,436,482	25,875,603	52,312,068	1.29
1914*	27,091,958	26,504,926	53,596,858	1.15
1915*	27,438,735	26,844,189	54,282,898	1.28

* Estimated Population.

In August, 1910, Korea (Chosen) was annexed by Japan. Since that date the increase in population has been very rapid, as the following figures show:—

Year (December 31)	Males	Females	Total	Annual Increase per 100 Inhabitants
1906	6,915,706	6,107,323	13,023,029	..
1908	6,942,836	6,128,341	13,071,177	0.23
1910	7,057,458	6,255,559	13,313,017	1.70
1912	7,732,404	7,094,697	14,827,101	5.49
1914*	8,604,728	7,895,078	16,499,806	5.49
1915*	9,077,128	8,328,517	17,405,645	5.49

* Estimated Population.

Taiwan (Formosa) became part of the Empire in 1895, when it was ceded by China to Japan. The following table gives details of the population of Taiwan :—

Year (December 31)	Males	Females	Total	Annual Increase per 100 Inhabitants
1898	1,373,240	1,214,608	2,587,848	..
1902	1,534,455	1,320,629	2,855,084	2.4
1906	1,580,603	1,418,611	2,999,214	0.7
1910	1,626,338	1,479,885	3,106,223	1.1
1914*	1,890,091	1,722,093	3,612,184	1.93
1915*	1,926,569	1,755,329	3,681,888	1.93

* Estimated Population.

Karafuto or Japanese Saghalien was ceded by Russia in 1905. In 1906 (December 31) the population was 12,361 (8042 males and 4319 females). In 1913 (last census) it was 48,349 (27,426 males and 20,923 females), showing an annual increase of 14.74 for every 100 inhabitants.

On December 31, 1913, there were 9,720,436 households in Japan, composed on an average of 5.67 members. On the same date there were altogether 55,131,270 inhabitants (27,911,414 males and 27,219,856 females). The number of Japanese households residing abroad at the end of 1913 was 81,897, and the total number of persons was 334,950. On the same date 19,012 foreigners were resident in Japan (13,081 men and 5682 women) ; 11,905 of the total were Chinese, 2827 English and 1733 were American.

The following table indicates the movement in the population for various years :—

Year	Births		Marriages	Divorces	Deaths
	Living	Still			
1901	1,503,361	155,489	378,637	63,593	928,578
1904	1,444,307	147,058	399,218	64,016	999,621
1907	1,021,973	158,814	433,527	61,193	1,024,286
1909	1,705,877	161,576	438,771	59,118	1,099,797
1910	1,726,522	157,392	442,498	59,681	1,073,732
1911	1,763,639	154,319	434,538	58,302	1,053,460

Year	Rate per 1000 Inhabitants				Still Births per 100 Births
	Births	Marriages	Divorces	Deaths	
1901	33.1	8.33	1.41	20.3	9.46
1904	30.6	8.46	1.36	21.2	9.24
1907	33.2	8.88	1.25	21.0	8.92
1909	34.2	8.73	1.18	21.9	8.65
1910	33.9	8.74	1.18	21.1	8.35
1911	34.1	8.40	1.13	20.4	8.09

The following are the chief towns and their population at the time of the last census, December 31, 1913 :—

Town	Population	Town	Population	Town	Population
Tokio .	2,050,126	Sendai .	104,141	Shimonosehi	72,117
Osaka .	1,395,823	Hakodate	99,795	Moji . .	71,977
Kioto . .	509,380	Fukuoka	97,303	Tokushima	70,292
Nagoya .	452,043	Sapporo	96,924	Kumamoto	68,167
Kobe . .	442,167	Saseho .	94,914	Sakai . .	67,706
Yokohama	397,574	Otaru .	92,864	Niigata .	66,622
Hiroshima	167,130	Okayama	86,961	Toyama .	64,822
Nagasaki	161,174	Yokosuka	85,473	Shidzouka	64,108
Kanazawa	129,804	Wakayama	77,683	Fukui . .	56,218
Kure . .	128,342	Kagoshima	75,907	Naha . .	55,547

Justice and Crime.—There are four types of courts in Japan: the district court, the first high court, the appeal court, and the court of cassation. In 1913 there was one court of cassation presided over by 26 judges, 7 appeal courts with 72 judges attached, 50 high courts with 361 judges, and 184 district courts with 388 judges attached. The total number of tribunals thus being 242 and of the judges 847.

The total number of criminals condemned in 1910 was 106,793; in 1911, 117,232; in 1912, 116,649. Of these 30 were condemned to death in 1910, 39 in 1911, 33 in 1912, and 40 in 1913.

On December 31, 1912, there were 56 principal and 99

secondary prisons in Japan. The number of prisoners on the same date was 60,405 males and 3147 females (total 63,552).

The number of suicides in 1910 was 10,783; in 1911, 10,753; in 1912, 11,128; in 1913, 11,942.

CONSTITUTION.—The Constitution of Japan is dated February 11, 1889, and gives the Emperor (called the Mikada by foreigners) the rights of sovereignty which are hereditary. He appoints the Cabinet ministers who are responsible to him. A Privy Council advises the Emperor on matters of State.

The Legislature consists of two bodies, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. The former consists of hereditary peers together with members nominated by the Emperor by reason of their special distinction. The House of Representatives is an elected body, voting for which is by secret ballot. Its members receive an annual salary of 2000 yen besides travelling expenses.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.—Local Government is carried on in prefectures, municipalities, counties, towns and villages, each of which being a separate entity. Each has its own assembly, which deals mainly with financial matters. The assemblies in every case are elected bodies.

RELIGION.—There is no State religion in Japan. The two chief religions are Shintoism and Buddhism. On December 31, 1913, Shintoism had 13 chief administrators, 73,432 preachers, 859 students, 49,902 temples with 14,223 priests. On the same date there were for the Buddhists, 56 chief administrators, 74,503 preachers, 10,521 students (9792 males and 729 females), 71,780 temples with 52,447 high priests and 1111 high priestesses.

The spread of Christianity in Japan is steadily increasing. At the end of 1907 there were 1808 preachers (1200 Japanese and 608 foreigners) ministering at 1160 churches. By the end of 1910 the figures were 2046 (1342 Japanese and 704 foreigners) and 1245 respectively. The latest figures are

those for 1913 :—2255 (1506 Japanese and 749 foreigners) attached to 1356 churches, chapels, etc.

Education.—All schools in Japan are national or local. That is to say that the whole of the expenditure for elementary and secondary education is borne either entirely by the Government, as in the case of the universities, or by the Government and the local authorities together. The budget for 1915–16 estimates the expenditure on public instruction at 9,626,880 yen (£962,688), an increase of five million yen over the actual expenditure in the year 1905–6.

Primary education is compulsory. On March 31, 1914, there were 25,615 elementary schools staffed by 157,285 teachers (113,806 men and 43,479 women), and attended by 7,095,755 children (3,802,653 boys and 3,293,102 girls). The average size of a class is 45 pupils.

The statistics for the secondary schools are as follows for the year 1913–14: No. of schools, 318; no. of teachers, 6276; no. of pupils, 131,946. For the Girls' High Schools: No. of schools, 330; teachers, 4117 (1784 male and 2333 females); no. of pupils, 83,287.

Besides these there are 86 normal schools with 1623 teachers and 27,928 pupils and 4 higher normal schools (2 for boys and 2 for girls) with 222 teachers and 1077 boy and 689 girl students.

Great attention is paid to special technical training for all walks of life and the number of schools for this purpose is well-nigh 7000. For agricultural pursuits alone there were, in 1914, 6032 preparatory schools with 253,147 pupils (226,012 male and 27,135 female). The special technical schools for higher training number 19 with 673 lecturers and 7098 students.

There are four Universties. The Tokio Imperial University, which consists of a University Hall and faculties in Law, Medicine, Engineering, Arts, Science, and Agriculture; the Imperial University of Kioto, consisting of a University Hall

and faculties in Law, Medicine, Arts, and Science and Engineering; the Imperial North-Eastern University, consisting of a University Hall and faculties in Science and Agriculture, with special sections for Medicine and Engineering; and the Imperial University of Kiushiu, with a University Hall and faculties of Medicine and Engineering. The statistics for the Universities for the year 1913–14 are as follows :—

University 1913–14	No. of Chairs	No. of Lecturers	No. of Students
Tokio . . .	192	377	5233
Kioto . . .	117	172	1791
North-Eastern .	36	187	1951
Kiushiu . .	51	79	597
Total . .	396	815	9572

There were in 1914, 63 institutions devoted to the training of the blind and of the deaf and dumb. The total number of teachers was 391 (322 male and 69 female). 1321 blind boys and 420 blind girls were in training and 651 male and 397 female deaf-mutes. In the same year 568 crèches, employing 1605 nurses, cared for 47,368 children.

The total number of libraries open to the public in 1914 was 625, comprising 3,130,060 volumes in the Japanese and Chinese languages and 229,938 volumes in European tongues.

Internal Communications—*Roads and Railways.*—The total length of the roads in Japan has increased considerably in late years as the following figures will show: in 1903, total length was 277,137 miles; in 1908, 263,705 miles; and in 1913, 296,060 miles. For the same years the number of bridges was: 286,152, 303,352, and 312,761.

In 1872 the State had opened 17 miles of railway. In 1882 it had grown to be 173 miles, and in 1892, 1879 miles were owned jointly by the State and various private companies.

The following are the statistics for the year 1913–14: Length of line owned by the State, 5471 miles; owned by private companies, 1067 miles; total length, 6538 miles. Length of line under construction: State, 856 miles; private companies, 3210 miles; total under construction, 4066 miles. Number of passengers carried, 207,040,249. Goods carried, 40,725,528 tons. Number of accidents, 2153; number killed, 2018; number injured, 2490. Total receipts from passenger fares, 56,042,642 yen; from goods freights, 54,818,021 yen. Total revenue of State and private railways, 120,612,571 yen. Total expenditure, 98,307,545 yen. Net profit, 23,161,350 yen (£2,316,135).

In 1914 there were 1293 miles of municipal and private electric tramways, and they carried 602,249,831 passengers at a net profit of 17,300,107 yen, representing 7 per cent. return on the invested capital.

Postal Service.—The following tables give details of the different branches of the Government Postal Services for various years:—

Posts

Years	No. of Offices	Packets carried	Parcels carried
1905	6160	1,106,343,382	12,114,649
1908	6709	1,391,489,861	17,868,453
1910	6946	1,493,807,070	20,476,666
1912	7166	1,654,238,537	23,442,540
1914	7268	1,816,544,603	25,717,509

Telegraphs

Years	No. of Offices	Length of Lines	Length of Wires	No. of Telegrams
		Miles	Miles	
1905	2566	18,703	87,355	20,958,312
1908	3183	22,046	98,044	27,761,798
1910	3951	22,495	99,825	28,185,955
1912	4657	23,880	105,892	32,450,664
1914	4806	24,561	109,562	33,688,341

In 1908 the first wireless apparatus was installed in Japan, and in that year 4480 messages were sent and received. In 1914 the number had increased to 35,546.

TELEPHONES

Year	No. of Exchanges	Length of Lines	Length of Wires	No. of Messages
		Miles	Miles	
1905	194	3122	119,169	14,388,359
1908	451	4694	172,656	262,506,359
1910	1141	5661	258,458	416,955,984
1912	1949	6576	382,531	753,617,423
1914	2321	6842	482,728	906,222,939

The number of subscribers has increased from 35,528 in 1905, to 200,271 in 1914. In the former year there were also 147 automatic telephones and in the latter 676.

SAVINGS BANKS ACCOUNTS.—Within the last ten years for which figures are obtainable, the deposits in the Government Savings Banks have increased enormously. In 1903, 853,156 accounts were opened, bringing the total number up to 2,707,118. In 1913, 2,352,628 accounts were opened, and the total number was 12,780,551. In the former year, 17,180,657 yen were paid in, and the amount due to depositors was 28,804,533 yen. In 1913, 147,101,624 yen were paid in, and the amount due was 195,673,793 yen. The number of depositors per hundred of the population was 5.55 in 1903, and 24.15 in 1913. The average amount due to each depositor was 10.64 yen in 1903, and 15.31 yen in 1913.

SHIPPING AND NAVIGATION.—In 1914 there were 36 open ports in Japan, but the bulk of trade is carried on through the harbours of Yokohama and Kobe. In 1896 the Navigation Encouragement Law was passed, granting subsidies to Japanese companies engaged in traffic with foreign countries or ports. As a result of this Government protection five

important steamship companies have grown up, whose vessels run on the four ocean lines, namely, to Europe, North America, South America, and Australia.

At the close of 1903 Japan possessed 657,000 tons of steamers and 322,000 tons of sailing vessels, making a total of 979,000 tons. Eleven years later, at the end of 1914, the registered gross tonnage of steamers was 1,577,025 tons and that of sailing vessels 513,224 tons, making a total of 2,090,269 tons.

The following table gives the vessels entering and clearing the ports of Japan in 1913 :—

	Entered		Cleared	
	No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage
Japanese steamers . .	6,229	12,529,552	6,296	12,610,352
,, sailing vessels .	347	46,915	366	50,182
Foreign steamers . .	3,659	12,429,322	3,630	12,221,981
,, sailing vessels .	7	14,626	7	14,783
Total . . .	10,242	25,020,415	10,299	24,897,298

Agriculture.—It is estimated that nearly 73 per cent. of the total area of Japan Proper is occupied by forests and plains. On January 1, 1915, the acreage of taxable land in Japan was 14,910,747 cho [1] (36,531,330 acres), of which 2,862,964 cho were rice fields, 2,378,638 fields for other cereals, 7,914,572 cho were forests, and 42,215 cho were plains.

On March 31, 1914, the total acreage of forest land was 18,810,060 cho and of plains 2,223,592 cho. Of the former 7,817,124 cho were State property, and the income realised therefrom was 10,642,116 yen for the year 1913-14.

Agriculture is the occupation of close on 60 per cent. of the population of the country. In 1913 the total number of

[1] 1 cho = 2.45 acres.

domestic animals was as follows: 1,388,708 cattle, 1,582,125 horses, 2946 sheep, 89,488 goats, and 309,995 swine.

The following are figures of agricultural products for several years:—

Crop	Area under cultivation			Production		
	Cho			Koku[1]		
	1914	1913	1912	1914	1913	1912
Rice	3,033,369	3,029,705	3,003,053	57,006,208	50,225,267	50,222,509
Barley	616,314	624,127	598,101	9,548,752	10,642,768	9,790,709
Rye	727,900	720,843	680,059	7,207,360	9,180,739	7,900,112
Wheat	479,001	483,459	496,332	4,488,239	5,226,947	5,179,500
Soya Bean	..	475,284	475,674	..	2,993,095	3,511,464
Tea[2]	30,108	30,066	29,937	8,425,660	8,592,345	8,778,066
Tobacco[2]	31,491	29,379	27,757	12,718,476	11,623,525	9,059,334

[1] 1 Koku=4.96 bushels. [2] Produce in kwan (1 kwan=8.2 lbs.).

In 1913, 5,159,421 cards of eggs of silk worms were hatched, producing 4,591,548 koku of cocoons, and in 1914, 5,094,856 cards, producing 4,412,239 koku of cocoons. In 1913, 333,563 factories and families were engaged in the reeling of raw silk, and the total production of raw silk was 4,841,538 kwan.

Fisheries.—In the year 1913 the total value of the raw marine products was 95,065,848 yen, while that of the manufactured products (including fish-guano) was 59,718,634 yen. In 1904 the values were 55,229,618 yen and 32,592,245 yen respectively.

Mining.—The total yield of the mines in Japan Proper for the year 1914 is estimated at 153,309,716 yen, an increase of 6,460,924 yen over that of the preceding year. The total number of mines being worked in 1913 was 1634 and the number of miners was 262,163 on the 30th June of that year. The total acreage of the working mines was 550,468,853 tsubo (tsubo=3.95 sq. yds.).

The following table gives the value of the various minerals, etc., mined during several years:—

	Yen		
	1913	1912	1911
Gold	7,252,000	6,799,072	6,059,497
Silver	5,635,124	5,896,084	4,761,562
Copper	42,012,126	40,252,061	27,133,448
Lead	617,866	531,282	506,608
Pig Iron	2,552,245	2,304,614	1,964,649
Pyrites	589,927	436,592	410,277
Steel	809,087	745,795	589,440
Antimony	4,569	18,275	25,941
Coal	70,956,121	61,412,837	55,006,501
Sulphur	1,568,432	1,372,824	1,271,672
Petroleum	12,498,506	8,377,073	6,733,514
Total Value (including others)	146,848,792	130,241,335	105,929,517

The quantity of coal mined was in 1912, 19,639,755 metric tons, and in 1913, 21,315,962 metric tons.

INDUSTRY.—At the end of 1913 there were in Japan 15,811 factories employing 916,252 hands (375,596 male and 540,656 female). In addition there were 61 Government establishments with, in 1915, 95,014 hands (83,415 males and 11,599 females), receiving an average wage of 1s. 4½d. per day for the men, and 8½d. per day for the women. The length of a working day was 10½ hours, working 314 days a year.

Of the private establishments by far the greatest number are textile factories, 8291 in 1913, employing 71,144 males and 468,929 females, total 540,073.

In 1913 there were 100 cotton mills with an invested capital of £7,757,523 and an average number of 2,344,464 spindles working daily, employing 21,264 male and 93,724 female operatives. The total production of yarn was 666,286,892 lbs. from 727,217,607 lbs. of raw cotton.

In the same year woven goods to the value of 323,434,774 yen were produced, the number of hands employed in their manufacture being 667,943 (37,020 male and 630,932 female). 52,319 families were engaged in making Japanese paper to

the value of 20,935,391 yen, and 35 factories with 5717 male and 1905 female hands produced European paper valued at 23,003,660 yen. 189 match factories with 16,535 hands produced 51,731,010 gross of matches of a value of 17,188,133 yen. Porcelain and earthenware gooods gave employment to 35,367 hands, and the value of the goods produced was 17,676,834 yen.

TRADE.—The last thirty years have seen an enormous expansion in the foreign trade of Japan. This is best shown by comparing the total value of exports and imports per head of the population for the years 1884 and 1914. In the former year the figure was 1.67 yen and in the latter 22.14 yen.

The following are statistics for five years prior to 1914 :—

	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
	£	£	£	£	£
Imports	46,423,380	51,380,570	61,899,227	72,943,164	59,573,572
Exports	45,842,899	44,743,388	52,698,184	63,246,021	59,110,146

The table below gives some of the chief imports and exports for 1913 and 1914 :—

IMPORTS

Articles	1913	1914
	£	£
Raw Cotton	23,148,088	21,787,261
Oil Cake	3,949,876	3,486,467
Rice	4,847,230	2,482,393
Brown Sugar	3,654,899	2,154,010
Sulphate of Ammonia	1,599,228	1,514,514
Wool	1,599,760	1,478,379
Soya Beans	713,812	1,020,037
Iron Bars, etc.	1,384,007	988,628
Petroleum	1,110,194	865,732
Wheat	1,235,102	848,899
Flax and Hemp	735,624	793,865
Coal	403,406	669,065
Pig Iron	1,038,977	659,524
Spinning Machinery	506,979	533,239
Woollen Yarn	1,015,944	421,953

EXPORTS

Articles	1913	1914
	£	£
Raw Silk	18,891,689	16,179,741
Cotton Yarn	7,099,753	7,855,450
Silk Tissue	3,488,227	3,089,048
Copper	2,818,390	2,719,661
Coal	2,362,887	2,391,459
Sugar refined	1,583,133	1,238,280
Green Tea	950,980	1,175,514
Shirtings	1,119,834	1,259,649
Matches	1,186,451	1,105,225
Twilled Tissues	844,159	1,098,899
Earthenware & Porcelain	663,733	591,376
Rice	437,297	497,410
Matting	406,580	293,952
Waste Silk	698,851	3,637,753
Camphor	223,578	278,000

The following statistics show the trade with the principal countries for two years :—

IMPORTS FROM

Countries	1913	1914
	£	£
British India	17,317,386	16,032,446
United States	12,240,836	9,677,107
Great Britain	12,273,697	9,230,230
China	6,122,303	5,830,578
Germany	6,839,479	4,492,200
Kwantung Province	3,088,789	3,127,701
Dutch Indies	3,738,925	2,202,494
French Indo-China	2,469,989	1,505,221
Australia	1,494,314	1,458,049
Philippine Islands	764,783	738,946
Egypt	714,319	682,898
Belgium	948,802	645,338
Sweden	508,951	488,143
France	582,899	437,121
Siam	579,312	417,386
Straits Settlements	520,501	409,073
Chili	277,338	260,732
Austria-Hungary	389,001	190,609
Switzerland	179,499	154,783
British America	183,942	107,302
Hongkong	129,474	87,602

EXPORTS TO

Countries	1913	1914
	£	£
United States	18,447,338	19,653,900
China	15,466,042	16,237,092
Hongkong	3,362,197	3,327,707
Great Britain	3,286,965	3,308,627
France	6,022,961	3,120,933
British India	2,298,341	2,604,833
Kwantung Province	2,983,634	2,227,037
Italy	2,441,672	1,109,689
Australia	863,797	1,086,859
Asiatic Russia	427,141	1,041,314
Germany	1,313,170	996,209
Straits Settlements	1,014,155	912,981
Philippine Islands	628,355	676,910
Dutch Indies	514,868	547,928
British America	509,001	499,412
Hawaii	499,211	489,180
Belgium	370,599	236,146
Russia in Europe	489,442	196,780
Egypt	137,111	182,261
French Indo-China	105,519	80,354
Siam	103,529	56,309

FINANCE.—The following is a summary of the budget for the year ending March 31, 1916 :—

Revenue		Expenditure	
Ordinary :—	Yen	Ordinary :—	Yen
Taxes	316,454,735	Imperial Household	4,500,000
Stamp Receipts	30,431,307	Foreign Affairs	4,114,682
Post, Telephone, & Telegraphs	61,095,862	Home ,,	12,654,565
Forests	10,675,773	Finance	171,854,083
Monopolies	71,013,869	Army	74,038,003
Receipts from State Undertakings	9,170,269	Navy	43,112,320
Other Miscellaneous Receipts	25,507,008	Justice	11,371,390
		Education	9,626,880
		Agriculture & Commerce	6,857,520
		Communications	64,613,246
Total	524,348,823	Total	402,742,689
Carry forward	524,348,823	Carry forward	402,742,689

Revenue	Yen	Expenditure	Yen
Brought forward	524,348,823	Brought forward	402,742,689
Extraordinary :—		Extraordinary :—	
Sale of State Property	2,942,024	Foreign Affairs	2,296,600
Surplus from Preceding year	47,948,882	Home ,,	36,093,419
Other Receipts	45,750,535	Finance	62,170,186
		Army	13,403,108
		Navy	52,376,637
		Justice	647,675
		Education	813,271
		Agriculture & Commerce	6,855,158
		Communications	12,905,187
Total	96,641,441	Total	187,559,241
Total Revenue	620,990,264	Total Expenditure	590,301,930

The revenue and expenditure of the Empire of Japan for the last five years was as follows in yen (1 yen=about 2s.).

	1911–12	1912–13	1913–14	1914–15	1915–16
Revenue	657,192,221	687,392,480	721,975,486	654,315,101	620,990,264
Expenditure	585,374,613	593,596,445	573,633,925	623,852,428	590,301,930
Surplus	71,817,608	93,796,035	148,341,561	30,462,673	30,688,334

Public Debt.—The public debt on March 31, 1915, amounted to 2,477,082,242 yen, of which 991,531,578 yen were internal loans and 1,485,550,664 yen foreign loans. The total debt in 1914-15 worked out at 34.041 yen per head of the population. Ten years previously the total debt amounted to 1,266,537,837 yen, or 25.262 yen per head of the population.

The annual revenue and expenditure of the Municipal corporations was for the last five years:—1911, revenue, 427,891,096 yen; expenditure, 379,395,797 yen; 1912, revenue, 375,930,533 yen; expenditure, 320,453,571 yen; 1913, revenue, 296,335,623 yen; expenditure, 290,926,822 yen; 1914, revenue, 296,305,853 yen; expenditure, 292,986,831 yen.

For 1915 the figures available are only those of the prefectures viz., revenue, 81,217,441 yen; and expenditure, 81,202,225 yen.

Local loans are of two kinds: those raised with and those raised without special sanction from the Government. At the end of the year 1914 the amount of the local loans outstanding was: without special sanction, 314,825,112 yen, and with Government sanction, 6,355,887 yen; total, 321,180,999 yen.

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